United Nations

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WHY WORLD POLICY MAKERS DISCOUNT WAR

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By Senator Wayne Morse

REPORT ON THE COMMONWEALTH

By Philip Noel-Baker
Secretary of State
for Commonwealth Relations

UN'S OPERATION MIRACLE

By J. Donald Kingsley
Director General of IRO

THE MOLOTOV PLAN ROLLS OVER EASTERN EUROPE

By Laure Sharp

WHY LATIN AMERICA SPAWNS REVOLUTIONS

FEBRUARY, 1950

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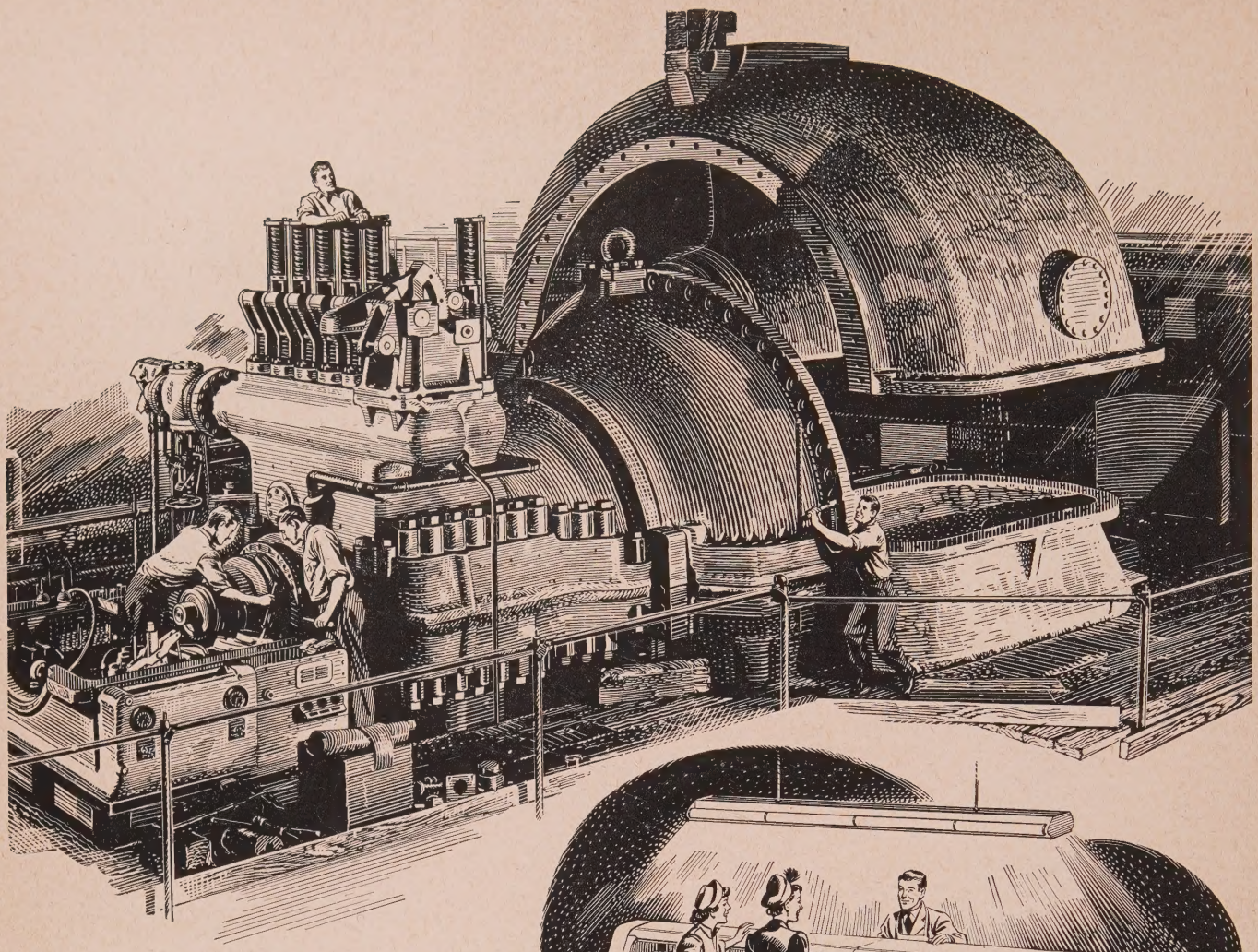

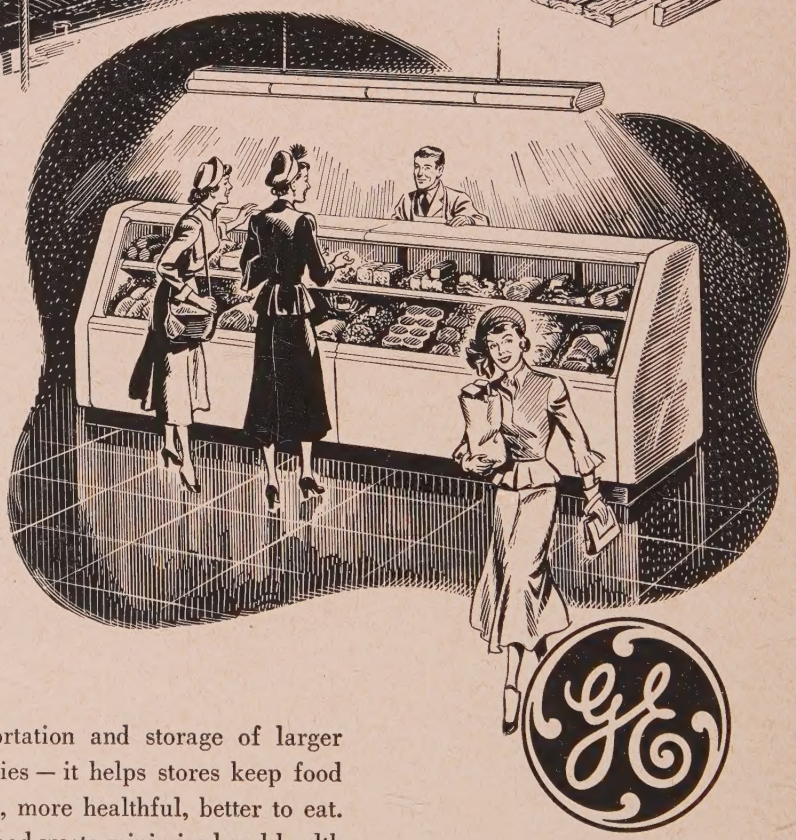

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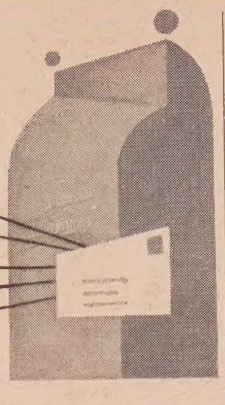

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
CANADA

I am pleased to send greetings and congratulations to the "United Nations World" on the occasion of its Third Anniversary.

During its three years of publication, this international magazine, edited from a global point of view, has done much to interest people all over the world in the United Nations as our best present hope of achieving co-operation among all nations.

I should like to extend to the "United Nations World" my best wishes for continued success in the assistance which it gives to the cause of world peace.

Prime Minister of Canada.

Ottawa,
February, 1950.

It is with great pleasure that I take the occasion of your Third Anniversary to tell you how important and useful UNITED NATIONS WORLD seems to me.

Strengthening and promoting the idea of the United Nations is indeed a task of vast significance, for it includes everything worth striving for. This is a time when all of us need to make clear in our minds and to take up in our hearts the principles of freedom, democracy and international co-operation. When we have done this, then we will be ready to bring these notions to life within our community. This was done, I dare say, by the Greek people, when through their fight they succeeded in maintaining their democratic way of life; this is being done by them again when they devote themselves now to an all-out effort of reconstruction and social progress.

It is, therefore, gratifying to see in the pages of UNITED NATIONS WORLD this effort shared by others and through these pages the belief in the United Nations principles disseminated to the public. I think we should offer UNITED NATIONS WORLD all our support.

Alexis Kyrou
Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations

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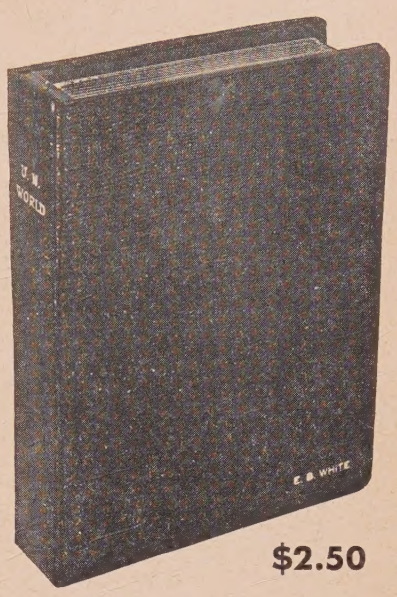

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Letters to the Editor *continued*

I find the articles by ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman and Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer most interesting, and I wish to extend to you my sincere congratulations for the fine service which you are rendering to the cause of international understanding, analyzing and presenting the crucial problems of our times in a most illuminating fashion.

Rafael de la Colina
Mexican Ambassador

I have found the articles by ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman and Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer particularly interesting and suggestive of constructive and useful ideas both for the rebuilding of Europe itself and for the rehabilitation of several other areas in the world.

I trust that in the future issues of your magazine you will give due consideration to the matter of the economic rehabilitation of the Near East; and I shall in this respect be willing to give you all the cooperation I can offer.

M. Fawzi
Permanent Representative
of Egypt to the UN

USA

It had been my impression that UNW was, at least moderately, liberal. Yet many of your recent articles, notably the article by Harold Loeb, ("Profits and Our Mixed Economy." UNW, October), make me question this. It is not so much that I do not agree (to a limited extent) with Mr. Loeb's conclusions but rather with the almost completely irrelevant nature of the arguments he used to support his conclusions. It seems to me a publication with the pretensions of UNW should protect its readers, not only against faking in the political field, but also against economic chicanery.

I refer specifically to Loeb's arguments against price controls. He compares Belgian and British postwar recovery, assuming that Belgium's rapid recovery was due to absence of controls and Britain's difficulties are due to price controls. The Manchester Guardian, certainly no proponent of excessive control, has not taken this position. Furthermore, Belgian labor had always been at a lower level than British, and it was possible for business to produce more cheaply. Britain, in contrast, was forced to sell many billions in foreign assets, which had brought in much income before the war. British production has, in fact, increased tremendously and there is no evidence whatever that the abolition of price controls would have led to a larger increase. . . . I am afraid Mr. Loeb did not do justice to the magical effect on U.S. production of the abolition of OPA. As a scientist (economically illiterate, of course), I cannot accept Mr. Loeb's arguments. I would not advocate rigid price controls, but there is certainly much unconscionable profiteering today.

Richard Ashman
New Orleans, Louisiana

POLAND

I do not know whether this letter will pierce through the iron curtain or whether it will be withheld—nevertheless I feel it my duty to communicate to you some of my own remarks on your November issue.

I read the whole issue with great interest and the article "Is an Atomic Blitz Possible?" by Fletcher Pratt with special interest. I think that such articles form public opinion in the West, especially when written by the world's foremost and famous military experts. So, it is worth while to take up the arguments on some points of interest for a Pole. I am hardly a military expert, but can you give us some data concerning the surrender to the Germans of the Polish government in 1939, as is implied in this article? As a Pole I don't see in these historic events of 1939 any trace that our government failed and surrendered to the Germans in the manner implied in this article. On the contrary, as far as we know in Poland, our government fled from Warsaw to France and thence to England (what else could it do in view of the impending calamity) and from there conducted our Polish struggle for independence and freedom. The nation was unified in its majority with its government then residing in London.

Therefore, may I ask you why do you place us on the same footing as the French and the Belgians?

On the whole, I agree heartily with you on the main points of your article, but I must strongly protest as to the alleged surrender of the Polish government.

Arthur Jesionek
Wroclaw, Poland

The French National Railroads, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York City, have published an attractive railroad map showing the network of all European railroads. Readers of UNW may receive a free copy of this map by writing to the above address and mentioning our magazine.

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Page 4: Acme; Page 5: Acme, Wide World; Pages 14, 15: Acme; Page 17: BIS; Page 24: Three Lions; Page 29: Ridgewood Herald News; Page 38: Wide World; Pages 39, 41: BIS; Pages 42, 43: Wide World; Page 44: Wide World, IRO Photo by K. Orre; Pages 46, 48: Wide World; Page 49: Official UN Photo; Page 54: INP; Page 55: NAM; Pages 57, 59: Sovfoto.

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World Policy Makers Discount War

International Diplomatic Circles See 1950 a Safe Peace Year

Cold War enters into political and economic phase as war and defense preparations slacken everywhere.

The big news in the world's chancelleries and at Lake Success is that 1950 is regarded unanimously as a year safe for peace.

The danger of war in the foreseeable future has receded, according to high diplomatic sources, despite the Russian withdrawal from various United Nations councils (see editorial, page 64). As one United Nations statesman put it to us, "1950 is a much safer year, as far as peace is concerned, than was either 1949 or 1948."

Even the most pessimistic diplomats who had misgivings about the chances for peace at the time of the Berlin crisis, the North Atlantic Pact, Tito's first defiance of the Kremlin, and the Russian atomic bomb explosion, no longer believe that armed conflict is imminent.

From scrutiny of defense budgets and measures around the globe, one startling fact emerges. It is that both the speed and the scope of war preparations are slackening. Moreover, the idea that military power can be the sole source of national strength is everywhere losing ground.

To be sure, defense and military preparations are going forward. But activity is chiefly centered in the sphere of scientific research, with atomic and biological warfare the primary concern—together with the blueprinting of wartime conversion of industry. Yet one of the basic symptoms of any active armaments race, namely, the constant increase in expenditures and recruitment, is absent from today's world picture.

Perhaps the most arresting proof of the prevalent feeling that immediate war is not the order of the day lies in the fact that the US defense appropriations proposed for the fiscal year 1951 are $13,540,000,000 instead of the $14,268,000,000 for the fiscal year 1950. The latter went up in the US because the international situation seemed to be getting worse. If this trend had prevailed, the appropriations for 1951 would have gone up correspondingly.

While reduction of US defense outlays is not very considerable, it is nevertheless observed in international circles that the sum to be spent is less, not more.

By the same token, military appropriations for the UK for 1949-50 are £777,532,000 (roughly $3 billion, at the old exchange rate) as against £921,655,000 in 1948 and £1,736,575,000 in 1947.

In France, defense appropriations were 388 billion francs (roughly $1,200,000,000) for 1949, as against 413 billion in 1948.

The figures most difficult to verify, of course, are those of the Soviet Union. One-sixth of its budget is not made known, and is generally believed to contain military items. Furthermore, many expenses for scientific and military research do not come under military expenditures.

Military expenses in the Soviet Union for 1949 were roughly 20 per cent

GALL BUT NO BLOOD

Рис. Бор. Ефимова.

По их «образу и подобию»

Marshal Tito: "Fascist Spider" according to cartoon in Communist *Pravda*.

higher than those of 1948, that is, 79 billion rubles, as against 66 billion in 1948 ($14,905,660,380 and $12,452,830,190 respectively at the rate of 5.3 rubles to $1.00). However, in proportion to the whole budget, the military expenses of the USSR are only 1 per cent higher in comparison with 1948, that is, 18 per cent of the total budget of 1949, as against 17 per cent in 1948. The Minister of Finance of the Soviet Union, Arseny G. Zverev, justified these figures before the Supreme Soviet as not the result of the increased international tensions. He explained them by the "higher wholesale prices and transport costs" in the Soviet Union.

Regarding the Soviet Union, one further interesting indication of the present trend is the number of men admittedly in the armed forces. This has remained virtually stationary, at about 3 million, in both 1948 and 1949 (as against 15 million in wartime). The manpower figures for 1950 are not yet available, but there is no indication of increase.

For the United States, the number of men in the armed forces stands at 1,492,151 in 1949, compared with 1,345,758 in 1948 and 11 million in wartime. No extraordinary measure to increase the US armed forces has been taken or is being planned. The total is still only half the admitted armed strength of the potential major opponent of the US.

Great Britain's armed forces dropped in 1949 to 740,000, from 797,000 in 1948.

In France, because of the war in Indo-China, with its constant requirements of new manpower, there was a rise in the armed forces from 502,599 in 1948 to 668,000 in 1949.

While all these figures by no means indicate a trend toward universal disarmament, they do show an arrest and slowing down of the armaments race. They suggest a period of stabilization rather than expansion in preparations for armed conflict. Moreover, the trend in production in all these countries shows an overwhelming predominance of consumer and civilian goods over military production. This is another strong indication of the trend.

Last but not least, in none of the four major countries which have assumed preponderant leadership in the two opposing blocs is there any transfer of new powers from the civilian to the military. In the case of acute war danger, such a transfer would automatically take place.

Behind the conviction among top-ranking diplomats that war is today virtually excluded as an instrument of international politics, stand four historic events which occurred during 1949 but which did not provoke war. In the past any one of these would have resulted in an ultimatum or in armed conflict.

1. In 1949, Yugoslavia drastically changed its role in world politics. From a communist country which resented Soviet intervention in its internal affairs, but which followed the USSR line on international issues, Yugoslavia became one of the great political antagonists of the Soviet Union. What incensed the Soviets particularly was Yugoslavia's constant use of Marxist arguments to combat Soviet policy and thus to encourage dissident groups throughout the communist world.

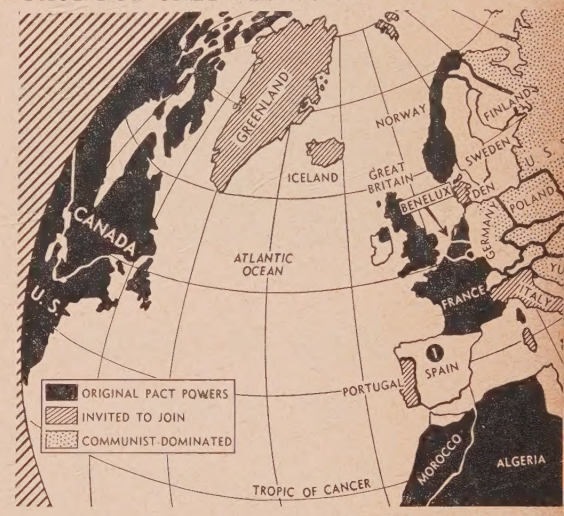
Yugoslavia embarked upon this defiant policy at a moment when it had neither military nor political alliances with any other nation. Its only asset was its membership in the United Nations. Last ties with the Soviet Union were broken when Yugoslavia openly opposed Czechoslovakia, Soviet candidate for the UN Security Council. Despite this and many other acts of revolt against Soviet leadership, Yugoslavia has not been invaded by Soviet armies.

2. China, with its 450,000,000 people, went over to Communism without any gesture of intervention on the part of the US. The Soviet world's immediate recognition of the Mao regime was promptly followed by that of India, a member of the Commonwealth, and by Burma, heavily influenced by the United Kingdom. The UK itself, a major force in the West, also recognized the new rulers of China. This swung wide the gates for the admission of Communist China to the international community. If war had been an immediate prospect,

SMILE BUT NO RECOGNITION

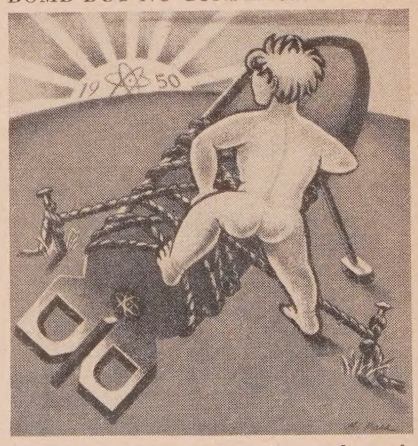
Mao Tze-tung won the war but is up against the tougher problems of peace.

PACT BUT ONLY DEFENSIVE



The lineup of the Western countries tied by economic, political and military pacts.

BOMB BUT NO CONFLAGRATION



USSR magazine cover expresses hope for agreement but deadlock continues in UN.

it is inconceivable that Great Britain would have granted such recognition. Nor would the US have refrained from defending Formosa as a bastion in the Orient.

3. In 1949, the Atlantic Pact came into being on the European Continent. Those who were sure that the Soviet Union would never tolerate any such military alliance on the mainland of Europe were proved to be wrong. The Soviet assault upon the Atlantic Pact was violent, but exclusively vocal.

4. The US in 1949 gained indisputable knowledge that the Soviets had the atom bomb. Here again the prophets had predicted that the Western world, notably the US, would never tolerate full-scale atomic production by the Soviet Union. But here again they were wrong. No move was made by a Western nation to heighten the international tensions which accompanied the disclosure that the Russians shared the atomic secret. In the US there was more calm than hysteria. Loss of US monopoly in this field was accepted as a *fait accompli.*

New Power: Public Opinion

The modern paradox appears to be that what once were causes of war now are causes of further efforts to preserve the peace. The reason is that today's governments, unlike those in the past, are influenced as never before by the might of world public opinion, which is articulately on the side of peace. The governments know that their peoples want them to wage peacefare rather than warfare. They thus reflect the new mentality that all disputes can be resolved without resort to arms. Moreover, informed diplomats point out that in no country today can there be found a substantial segment of the population as ready for war as were the German people in 1938 and 1939.

In most countries, public opinion could be mobilized to support hostilities only in the face of open aggression, recognized internationally as such. In the struggle between East and West—which is a struggle for moral as well as political leadership—popular opinion against war comprises its most powerful deterrent.

The existence of the UN and its growing moral and political influence have greatly contributed to the elimination of warlike acts. Every government is aware of the importance accorded to it in public opinion throughout the world.

The easing, not of the basic East-West conflict, but of immediate war perils, is clearly demonstrated in statements by leaders of the major "cold war" protagonists.

Comparison of President Truman's messages to the American people and to the world at large over the last three years discloses that his fear of immediate war has reached its lowest ebb. In his State of the Union message of January 4, 1950, Mr. Truman declares that "the free peoples of the world have new vigor and new hope for the cause of peace." The implications of this attitude differ vastly from those of his Navy Day speech of October 27, 1947. In referring to US responsibility as a leading world power, he then pointed out that this "entails not only the building of a just and proper peace, but the maintenance of ready forces to insure that peace." This year's Presidential message also varies in tone from the Inaugural Address of January 20, 1949, which stressed not only the need for strengthening freedom-loving nations against aggression, but also for alertness "to resist armed attack from any quarter."

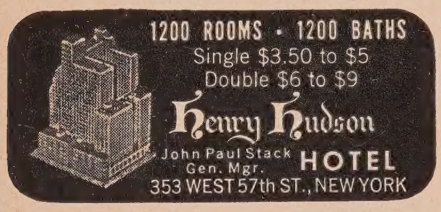
While the President supports the Atlantic Pact as strongly as ever, emphasis has shifted from fear of immediate aggression to the laying of permanent foundations for peace.

Moscow Thaws Out

Even in the Soviet Union where, for ideological reasons, there has never been a let-down in imputing military ambitions to the Western powers, there is slight but very real emphasis on the possibility that the two worlds can co-exist in peace. This change of pace can be found in three recent speeches of Generalissimo Stalin, in the pacific tone of his birthday celebration, in Orders of the Day by the chiefs of the Soviet armed forces.

Those familiar with Soviet aims are convinced that Generalissimo Stalin intends to conclude his long tenure as head of the Russian people, not by launching war but by lifting their living standards.

The United Kingdom has been in the forefront of resistance to Soviet expansion. At times it has been reproached for excess zeal in deepening the cleavage between East and West. Yet today it is acting unmistakably on the assumption that war is not around the corner. It can now be deduced that the main objective of UK policy during recent years was to establish the closest organic coopera-



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tion with the US, to prevent Western Europe from being left to face the Soviet Union alone. With that cooperation a reality, the UK considers one period of history ended, and another begun.

Bevin's Change of Tone

Comparison of two significant statements by Mr. Bevin indicates a remarkable evolution:

On September 22, 1948, Mr. Bevin said: "We . . . do not wish to see British policy conducted and inspired by the view that war is inevitable, but we are equally determined so to comport ourselves that in the event of Russian policy leading to a clash, we are ready. . . . We want to fight if necessary to prevent Europe from falling under a new Communist Charlemagne." But on May 7, 1949, he declared, "There is a better chance for peace now than at any time since 1945."

In the light of this approach, it can be assumed that Minister of State Hector McNeil's statement to the fourth General Assembly on the danger of "incidents" that might provoke war contained a large measure of rhetoric. It can be regarded more as an effort to impress the Russians with the need for moderation than as a considered policy statement.

France has always seen a new war as writing *finis* not only to her political power, but even to her existence as a nation. She has joined forces with the Western world because of the conviction of the majority that there was no other means of arresting Soviet advances that must ultimately lead to war. The Marshall Plan, and the effective functioning of the Atlantic Pact have strengthened the position of France sufficiently to enable her to view the international scene with greater serenity. Danger of war is no longer her immediate preoccupation, as it had been during the past two years. Pronouncements of leading French statesmen indicate the shift of emphasis from pressing international danger to domestic and, above all, economic problems.

With defense budgets down and armed forces stationary, the cold war is entering into a new political and economic phase, in which military factors, for the time being, are pushed into the background. Leading statesmen are convinced that the world situation is stabilized to a point where it is most unlikely that the balance of world forces will be changed by military action. The changes that may come are those that can be effected by political or economic means.

The Dynamics of Titoism

In this respect, international statesmen point to the great new opportunities that Asia seems to present for the spread of communist ideology. But they agree unanimously that Western Europe is in no imminent danger of a political reorientation more favorable to the Soviets. On the contrary, their hope is that Czechoslovakia or Poland may be in a position to follow Yugoslavia's example. Some diplomatic observers see the results of Yugoslavia's break with the Cominform as most important in their effect on Czechoslovakian leaders. These can today safely assume that a successful break from the Soviet orbit would be followed by no more direct Soviet military intervention than occurred in Yugoslavia.

The major problem, then, of the Western world, and especially of the US, is to work out a political program and an economic policy which will make it impossible for the Soviet Union to encroach further on Asia.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is confronted with the gigantic task of attempting to lift the Communist parties of Western Europe out of their total isolation and of enabling them to find supporters among groups that now shun them.

The Middle East and Africa, while undergoing profound changes—upon which we will report in these pages in forthcoming issues—are not yet considered to be in a sufficiently "active" stage of change, one way or another, to exert an influence on the world political picture.

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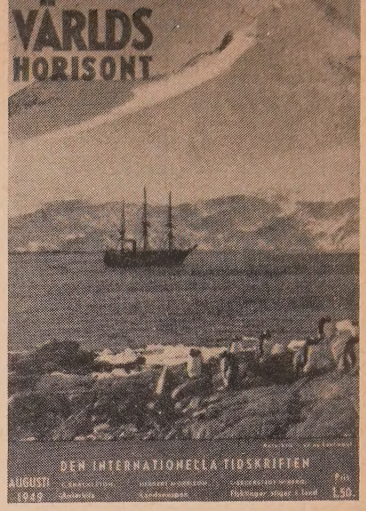

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BEBLER: Tito's Talleyrand

A Yugoslav Partisan sits on the Security Council of the UN—a lonely buffer between East and West.

By PETER KIHSS

ALES BEBLER is a Yugoslav, and a fighter. He fought in Spain as a captain in the international brigade. He fought in World War II as a colonel of Marshal Tito's Partisans, in the mountains of Slovenia. Now, with Marshal Tito's government fighting a critical quarrel with the Cominform and insisting on going its own independent Communist way, Ales Bebler has been given a new frontline assignment.

For now Dr. Bebler has been picked to represent his country as it starts a two-year term in the United Nations Security Council. And his hope and his effort, he said in an interview, are "to contribute in a constructive way to lessening of world tension, consolidation of peace."

What he is proudest of is "having had faith in the victory of justice for small nations, never having made any action not consistent with this faith, this belief, not having thought of my private interests or making a career for a career's sake."

How did he get to this place? How did he get this way? Lean, quick, intelligent, fiery, alert, flashing, confident Ales Bebler epitomizes the forces that lead the Yugoslavs today, in the ever critical, often turbulent Balkans. And it all started, he said, when he was eleven years old.

Idrija, the Slovene town where he was born June 8, 1907, in the Julian March, outside Trieste, had been part of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Slovenes, he said, had considered the empire "a jail." Then, in 1918, in the crashing ending of World War I, Austria-Hungary collapsed.

"Nineteen eighteen was the decisive moment in my intellectual, unsentimental development," Dr. Bebler said. "We imagined that now there would be liberty and freedom, now there would be a Slav state, we would be free as Slavs. We were crazy with happiness.

"For a week we were from morning to night in the streets with national flags and emblems, singing Slovene songs, shouting 'Long live the Slavs of Slovenia,' and 'Never more Austrian and German rule over us.' I couldn't speak with my mother because the songs made my throat so sore.

"This liberty lasted twelve days.

"Then came the Italian troops.

"Immediately they dissolved the local Slovene administration.

"At eleven years, you feel such things very strongly. I had a dream. In it, I organized boys of my own age, and we knew in advance the Italians were occupying us. We went up on a mountain, along the road where the Italians were coming by trucks. When the file of trucks came, we took stones and threw them, and killed everyone of the invaders—it was a dream.

"From that day on, I thought about political problems. The starting point was the national question—why, after such a victory of democratic countries, my country did not achieve independence."

There was a book, too: Leo Tolstoy's *Confession.* Ales Bebler read it at fifteen. "It was a philosophy," Dr. Bebler recalled. "If one has a belief, a philosophy, Tolstoy said, he has to sacrifice everything for his belief." Tolstoy wrote about Christianity. The society of Russia of his day was Christian, Tolstoy said, but only in words—not in action. It isn't Chris-

tian just to go to church and put in a penny. That isn't enough, Tolstoy taught. The faith for which no demand was too great, that was the faith Ales Bebler wanted.

But why Communism?—what the Yugoslavs call the "progressive movement." Dr. Bebler gave his explanation: "The leftists had in their program absolute self-determination. The Soviet Union at that time was very impressive to me as a youth precisely in solving the national question. It was a confederation. Every smallest nationality had the possibility of self-government — very different from Tsarist Russia."

From the nationality attraction, he said he came to "ripen, mature, naturally" to favor the economic solutions of Communism as well. He joined the Communist Party in 1929. By then he was a Yugoslav.

He had slipped across the border with a peasant boy chum, as a twelve-year-old, evading bullets from Italian frontier guards, to join his father, a chemical engineer, who had fled from Italian arrest for Slovenian politicking. And so he grew up in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia.

As a Colonel in the Yugoslav Partisan Army, Primozh (Bebler), here shown with his staff, saw heavy action behind the German lines in the hills of his native Slovenia in 1944.

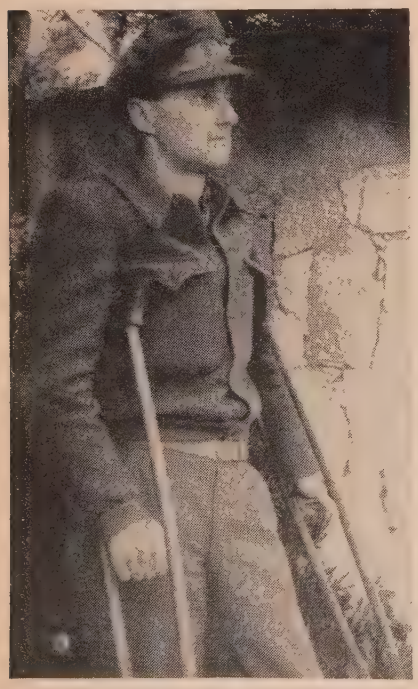
He graduated from high school in 1925, and enrolled in the University of Paris, to study law. But he also inscribed at the University of Ljubljana, and was "active politically in the country." Came a *coup d'état* in Yugoslavia, and Ales Bebler, just awarded his doctorate in Paris in December, 1930, received warnings from his friends that prosecution and jail awaited his return.

He became a political emigré, in France and Belgium. In January, 1933, he went to the Soviet Union. Dr. Bebler speaks many tongues—his own Slovenian, Serbo-Croat, Italian, German, Russian, French, Spanish, English. The Soviets put him to work with Americans—"I had the job of making life agreeable for foreign specialists."

He launched "cultural endeavors"—he organized libraries, films, broadcasts, news. He worked with trade unions to solve economic difficulties, housing, education. He went to the Urals, Magnitogorsk, Chelyabansk. He first met the future Marshal Tito in the Soviet Union in 1935—when that redoubtable Yugoslav came to Moscow for Comintern consultation.

Things seemed easing up in Yugoslavia. Early in 1936, Bebler started home, by Scandinavia, London, Paris. But then civil war burst out in Spain, and the Axis intervened. "I wanted to go to the front," he recalled. "Everything was connected. Hitler was already in coalition with Mussolini. I was fighting the two mortal enemies of my country. The place to stop the expansion was where the people first rose in arms to stop it."

A Captain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, Bebler convalesced from wounds at San Feliu.



Baptism by Fire in Spain

He fought with international troops for the Spanish republicans until a day in Quinto, near Zaragoza. Then, leading an attack, he saw a Polish comrade lying fallen on the narrow street, and tried to rescue him. For his effort, Captain Bebler was shot in the left leg. He was hospitalized in France, and finally returned to Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, he presented himself to the police. The old charge of organizing youth against the government proved still on the books. Bebler went to jail for a year.

Then came the Nazi invasion, and Dr. Bebler became Partisan chief of staff in Slovenia. "Primozh" he called himself for *nom de guerre*, after the Protestant who first published a book

in the Slovenian language in 1551.

Through Northern Slovenia and Gorizia, Primozh fought with the resistance forces. Once 100 Italians raided a peasant hut. "Come out, Primozh," they called. They tapped the walls. They arrested the silent peasant and his wife. They ignored the center stove, with its burning fire. Under the stove, under a trapdoor, was a secret room—and in it. Partisan Colonel Bebler, Primozh.

The Colonel Takes a Wife

There was a girl among the Partisan troops, Vera Hrescak, whom Bebler had known "vaguely." A law student, she had been arrested and sent to a concentration camp in Italy in 1942. When the Mussolini regime fell, the prisoners rose up against their guards, disarmed them, and formed a Partisan brigade of their own.

In a campaign amid the Slovenian snows, Partisan Vera Hrescak suffered frostbite. Revived and hospitalized, she and Colonel Bebler found a romance. In the spring of 1944, the two Partisans were married. They now have two daughters, Jasna, whose name means "clear," and Neda, whose name means "hope." Mrs. Bebler is now an actress in the Yugoslav theater. (Bebler's sister, a physician, also fought with the the Partisans, as a lieutenant).

Bebler relaxes with his daughter, Jasna, on the veranda of his cottage on the outskirts of Belgrade. The little girl already shows much of the grace and talent of her mother.

The day this picture was taken in the Slovenia they helped liberate, Bebler and Vera Hrescak became engaged.

After the war, Bebler became Minister of Finance in the first Slovene government, and four months later, Deputy Foreign Minister of federal Yugoslavia. Then began the world career, which made him Yugoslavia's delegate to repeated United Nations General Assemblies and international peace conferences, and one of the world's most skillful and forceful diplomats.

An Interpretation of the UN Charter

The Yugoslav people, Dr. Bebler said, have faith in UN. "We believe the main principles in the charter are excellent principles. The people who drafted the charter in San Francisco really found adequate expression of the aspiration of mankind.

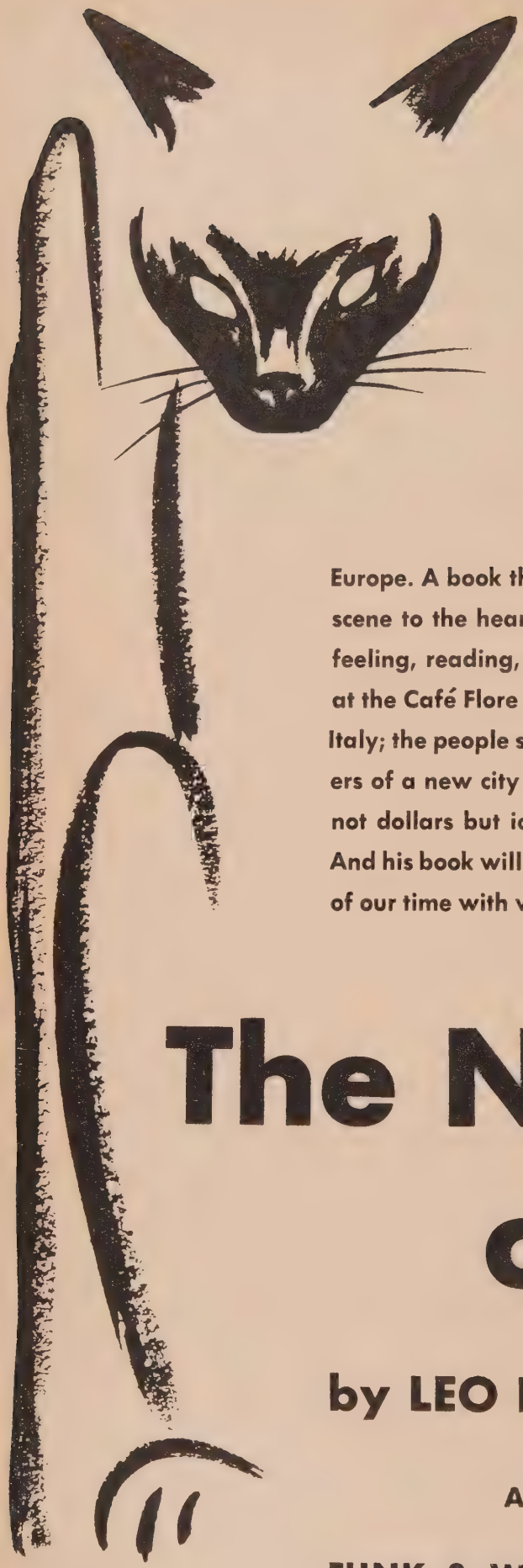
"Naturally the principles of the charter are not the image of reality. They are an aim—towards which all peoples are more or less consciously attracted. Our task is making these principles reality, putting those principles into international practice.

"Our faith was increased by the election of Yugoslavia to the Security Council. It showed the United Nations as a whole is ready to apply the principles of the Charter, and to back morally a smaller country."

Fighting Ales Bebler feels sure there will be "no war in the near future." He said: "There were two outstanding questions in the last year where big war could have started. Russian aggression against Yugoslavia could have been the starting point for war, or American interference in China, especially Formosa. On both those dangers the two main powers, the USSR and the US avoided igniting the spark."

He plans in the Security Council "to try in every question not to be a passive spectator or a neutral without any initiative, or an own idea of how to solve the question. I shall try so far as circumstances permit to develop initiative."

Over and over he lit cigarets as he talked. Recently a doctor told him that smoking was damaging his liver, and warned he should cut out cigarets, lest he shorten his life. "I told him," Dr. Bebler smiled, "there are so many more clear and present dangers, I am not ready to abandon this pleasure—just to live longer."



"I plead guilty: I am an optimist...

I am fully aware of the gravity of my crime. Every day the prophets of doubt and pessimism grow more numerous, their voices louder. I cannot expect mercy from any of them. I can only claim certain extenuating circumstances to excuse my own invincible optimism. I have survived two wars, three revolutions, four concentration camps and 50 years of wandering . . ."

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FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY, NEW YORK

United Nations WORLD Magazine February 1950

The Global Challenge To The GOP

By WAYNE MORSE
US Senator from Oregon

In this hour of decision when the battle for Asia moves toward climax, a far-sighted Republican statesman warns that for the US to give up its bipartisan foreign policy is to play politics with peace.

Is the Republican Party about to abandon the principle of a bipartisan foreign policy, a policy which Senator Vandenberg—one of its chief architects—has rightly described as "our best available insurance for peace"? I don't believe it. For this would mean that the United States is on the verge of another postwar era of perilous nationalism.

It would mean that the forces which would have America embark on a course of imperialism, which is the partner of isolationism, have staged a comeback. It would mean a return of dollar diplomacy. It would mean that certain harsh preconditions would be imposed on countries now receiving Marshall Plan aid on the ground that they must conduct their domestic affairs in a way that meets our entire approval—or else. Fortunately, at the Philadelphia Convention in 1948, the Republican Party firmly backed the bipartisan precept. Its platform officially pledged the Party to continue that kind of policy. In its plank No. 5, written in anticipation of a Republican victory, the GOP declared that the minority party (i.e. the to-be-defeated Democrats) would be invited to join "in stopping partisan politics at the water's edge." That kind of plank is still the core of official foreign policy for the Republican Party. Those within the Party who deride the bipartisan program perhaps need to be reminded that to differ over the practices of a united American position in international affairs does not in any way justify the scuttling of the bipartisan principle. On the contrary, the shortcomings which have developed merely dramatize the urgent need to perfect the mechanics of cooperation. Surely the reasons for a bipartisan foreign policy are plain enough. What we Americans want is to achieve and maintain international peace and security in a world of free men and of free nations. We want a world where human rights are not merely an exercise in verbal piety, but a living embodiment of human dignity and individual opportunity. To fulfill our obligations as a leader among free nations, we must have a foreign policy clear in its aims and consistent in execution.

National security itself demands that our foreign commitments can weather changes in the political direction of our government. Any member of the Congress who searches

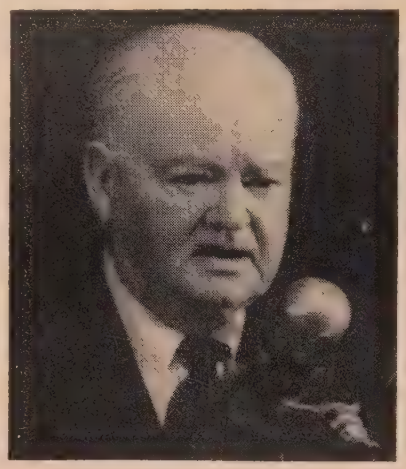
his heart must agree that a strong effective and dynamic American policy in foreign affairs is to be preferred to a strictly Democratic policy or Republican policy—even in the heat of an election year.

What, then, are the indispensable ingredients for a workable bipartisan foreign policy? They would seem to be obvious enough and yet they need to be restated in view of the charge that to support bipartisanship signifies "me tooism" and GOP addiction to the dubious virtues of the rubber stamp.

First of all, Republicans and Democrats must agree that bipartisanship means that "both parties are committed to working together" for world peace. In the second place, the responsible party leaders must achieve and display both mutual tolerance and common readiness to strive together in the common cause. They have to agree that all pertinent information will be shared and that ample time be spent in advance consultation and scrutiny of every issue.

During the past decade, very earnest efforts have been made to attain a functional inter-party cooperation in coping with foreign affairs. Soon after Hitler attacked Poland, the late President Roosevelt invited key figures of both parties to the White House for some extremely candid discussion. And the next day he told the Joint Session of Congress that "these perilous days demand cooperation between us without a trace of partisanship." There have been many heartening examples of constructive and fruitful inter-party teamwork as exemplified by Lend-Lease, the establishment of the UN Conference and the drafting of its Charter, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. Despite the strains and tempers which accompanied three national election campaigns, bipartisanship has survived. Sometimes its workings have been very far from perfect. But its imperfections hardly warrant the palpitant yearnings to go back to an isolationist past that can never be recaptured. Our only sane and sensible course is to summon forth our

PARTISANS—rather than bipartisans—are Senator Robert A. Taft (above) and former President Herbert Hoover.



most creative and constructive efforts to tool up the machinery of bipartisanship and make it run more smoothly than ever before. Only thus can America really present a united front whether to eager foes, reluctant friends, or enthusiastic coopters.

PERHAPS today's heaviest obligation for both Republican and Democratic Parties is to foster and further a bipartisan foreign policy and to carry it out in a spirit of good faith. By this means the long-range stake of the American people in winning the peace will be placed above and beyond any short-range partisan advantage. The leaders of neither Party can justify playing politics with peace.

A genuine bipartisan foreign policy contains within it the obligation upon the Party in the White House—whether Democratic or Republican—to consult in advance with the leaders of the minority party before entering into any international understanding which would commit the United States to a definite course of action. Nobody can be permitted to forget that it is a two-way street between the White House and Capitol.

It is true, of course, that under our Constitution, the primary responsibility for formulating foreign policy rests with the President of the United States. But it is equally true that whenever foreign policy questions generate friction between the White House and the Congress our country is greatly embarrassed in its overseas concerns. This is particularly important whenever the President makes an international pledge or agreement which later may require implementation by the Congress. Much of the confusion which now surrounds American foreign policy at the moment derives from the regrettable fact that in recent years Presidents and Secretaries of State too often have entered into understandings with the heads of foreign governments without prior consultation with Democratic and Republican leaders in the Congress. The latter indeed were kept in ignorance until discord and misunderstandings of potentially serious proportions had developed.

It is not too wise to discard entirely the use of hindsight when charting a course for future action. The defects of our bipartisan foreign policy as they have been revealed over recent years can be appraised in calmer perspective by a realistic analysis of some of the errors which have resulted from this very failure of Presidents and Secretaries of State to take into their confidence and to consult with Congressional leaders from both parties. For it is upon these men that the Administration must in the last analysis lean heavily to gain and to preserve Congressional support for any international commitment. The Cairo understanding, the Yalta agreements, the Potsdam pledges, the Administration's improvisations in China during and particularly since the war, all exemplify flaws and faults in applying the spirit of a bipartisan foreign policy. Nobody can for a moment think that the entente reached by the President with representatives of foreign powers at Cairo and Yalta would have been acceptable, even at

THE CAPITAL question in the Capitol: Should the artisans of bipartisan foreign policy, Sen. Connally, Democrat (left), and Sen. Vandenberg, Republican (right), continue to work together with Secretary Acheson and Roving Ambassador Jessup?

the time they were made, to the bipartisan leaders of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Cairo and Yalta decisions involve not only the prosecution of the war but also the building of the peace. Historians will undoubtedly record that these international conferences of the Roosevelt Administration represented, in a very real sense, an attempt to write peace treaties on the installment plan. It is difficult to answer the charge put forth by many Republican spokesmen, that in these conferences the treaty-making clause of the Constitution was circumvented by the President of the United States. In any case the conduct of the Executive Branch was not consonant with the essential aim and purposes of a bipartisan foreign policy. Even the Potsdam agreement cannot escape its need of criticism on this score.

If bipartisan leaders of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had been given an opportunity to present the Potsdam proposal to their committee, they would have raised some pertinent and pointed questions about America's prerogatives in Berlin. Certainly the failure of the agreement to clarify America's ability to enter and leave a city in which she was to have joint occupational rights and obligations with Russia, would have been avoided.

The Administration's handling of our policy in China, particularly since the war, cannot be fitted into a traffic design of two-way coordination and communication between the White House and the Congress. For many months the State Department failed to discuss with the bipartisan leaders of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee its plans for China, if any. Warning signals of dissension and criticism were raised in debate in the Senate many times during this period. On one occasion, during the

80th Congress, the Republican chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee—and the man who is perhaps more responsible than any other living American for a willing acceptance on the part of Republicans, and for that matter Americans generally, of the need for national unity in support of a bipartisan foreign policy—admitted under questioning on the floor of the Senate that the State Department had not consulted with the Foreign Relations Committee for many months on any phase of the China problem. He declared in the course of that debate, that the contents of the Wedemeyer Report had not been made known to the bipartisan leaders of the Foreign Relations Committee.

At that time, which was the fall of 1947, a series of cracks and fissures developed in the seams of America's bipartisan foreign policy. It should have been cemented very quickly by a mutual exchange of points of view and information between the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Instead, the misunderstandings and criticisms in respect to American policy in China became greater throughout 1947, 1948 and 1949. True, the predominant tendency in the Congress was to favor any Administration proposal offered in the name of a bipartisan policy. Nevertheless, those of us in the Senate who strongly supported the idea of maintaining a bipartisan foreign policy were both grieved and handicapped on many occasions when the State Department neglected to inform the bipartisan leaders of the Congress about what America intended to do in Asia.

The voice of Wayne Morse has influenced government policy during the past decade. As a member of the War Labor Board, he was highly regarded by both management and labor for his forthright refusal to support any cause but that of furthering the war effort. A lawyer by training, formerly Dean of the University of Oregon, an excellent horseman, he carries forward the tradition of honesty and Western liberalism which have kept the Republican Party alive during its most difficult times.

A great deal of the dissension which marked debates over the European Recovery Program, both in 1948 and 1949, was rooted in the dissatisfaction of some Senators with the Administration's lone-hand action in Asia. In the closing weeks of the first session of the 81st Congress, Senators who were battled and displeased with the Administration's seeming unwillingness to make clear its position on China, gained considerable support not only in the upper chamber but also from public opinion.

The China Incident

When the second session of the 81st Congress convened on January 3, it was from the outset obvious that the Administration would be confronted with a serious attack upon some aspects of its foreign policy, particularly those relating to China.

It is not too late to arrest and reverse the trend toward partisanship in the field of American foreign policy. It is not too late to replace with a spirit of confidence and participation, the distrust which some Senators have of the Administration's foreign policy. If the Administration will hasten to assure the people of the United States that the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties in the Congress will be consulted before major policy on any international issue is formulated by the State Department and the White House, the breach can be healed before irreparable damage is done.

This today is the acid test as to whether a bipartisan foreign policy actually prevails. No other course on the part of the Administration will ever satisfy those who are questioning not only the existence, but the worth, of a bipartisan foreign policy. No other kind of cooperation will sufficiently strengthen the hand of the great Vandenberg. Nothing else can place him in the powerful position he deserves to have within the Republican Party when he is faced with laying an Administration foreign policy request before the Republicans in the Senate for approval.

A bipartisan foreign policy does not mean that members of the Congress should refrain from criticizing any proposed course of action contemplated by the Administration in the name of a bipartisan foreign policy. Rather, it is the duty of the Congressman to voice doubt and disagreement whenever, in his honest judgment, these are due. However, experience shows that mutual cooperation and mutual exchange of ideas and viewpoints between the Administration and the leaders of Congress, in advance of an international commitment, usually remove any basis for fair and just criticism.

What is more, the greatest guarantee the Administration has for maintaining a united American people behind the foreign policy of our country is to keep it bipartisan from conception to delivery. The American people can be counted upon to endorse and help effectuate a foreign policy which results from the cooperative efforts of the leaders in both the Democratic and the Republican Parties. Whenever a split occurs between those leaders, then division of a perilous nature is likely to develop.

American foreign policy cannot be separated from the cause of peace. The destiny of the American people depends upon winning that peace. Hence, they have the right to look to the party in the White House, Democratic or Republican, in the years immediately ahead to raise the issue of foreign policy above the level of partisan politics. They have the right to expect that the leaders of the minority party in the Congress will cooperate in good faith with the majority party and the Executive in formulating a foreign policy bipartisan in blueprint and in building.

CAPTAIN OF THE CONSERVATIVE CRUSADE:

Lord Woolton

The Man Behind Churchill

The battle royal between Laborites and Tories extends beyond the confines of the British Isles. Its outcome will shape the economic and political pattern of the entire Commonwealth and determine the fate of Democratic Socialism for years to come. To stage a Conservative comeback in the forthcoming elections, Lord Woolton has streamlined the organization of his old party. His surprise weapon: taking the Conservative program out of the manor house and the private club and bringing it into the factories and the fields.

By CHARLES HODGES

Professor of International Politics, New York University

If Britain's Conservative Party achieves either a surprise victory or a really strong showing in the February 23rd elections, the credit should in no small measure go to the organizing genius of a single man. He is not Winston Churchill, but rather the man behind Churchill, Lord Woolton—answer to a Tory prayer at twilight. Formerly a commoner of middle class origins, Lord Woolton has been variously an H. G. Wells Socialist, a government economist, the secretary (during World War I) of Britain's Leather Control Committee where he designed a standard wartime boot for both British and Russian soldiers; a caterer on a mass production basis; the head of Lewis Ltd., the largest department store chain outside of London with a turnover of 660 million pounds a year, and Minister of Food in Churchill's coalition cabinet. He personifies the vigor and versatility, the disciplines and the diligence of that solid core of the middle class which, since the days of Cromwell, has served as England's buttress and beacon.

He also personifies an English version of the Horatio Alger success story. If his rise to riches was not quite from rags, he does nevertheless belong in the category of the self-made peer. His special importance in Britain's political future is that he represents that middle-of-the-road position which is increasingly acceptable to Britain's middle class whose votes can decide the general election.

When the shock of Labor's 1945 victory forced Mr. Churchill to perceive that the Conservative Party needed to be rebuilt from cellar to attic, he turned to Lord Woolton to do it. They had been looking at things the same way ever since the middle nineteen-thirties. While Churchill was warning the West against Hitler's drive toward world hegemony in the periods of Elizabethan rhetoric, Woolton was hitting the Nazis where it hurt—cancelling all orders placed in Germany by his

own vast business enterprises. He was the most articulate business voice raised against the Munich Era of appeasement. Impressed by the breathtaking efficiency with which Woolton had introduced wartime rationing into England—under the slogan "Fair shares for all, rich or poor"—Churchill had in 1945 asked him to take over the Reconstruction Ministry. Neither believed that they would be buried under the Labor avalanche of five years ago.

On that July 26 which startled the political world, Woolton wired Churchill, "I am ashamed of the way this country has treated you and would be honoured to serve with your whip." It was Woolton's pledge of fealty, not only to Churchill, but also to the Conservative Party whence he had been drawn from the Liberal Party and where he had operated at the periphery rather than at the center.

Handpicked by Winston Churchill

In the fall of 1945, Woolton, while directing his far flung business interests, was head of the British Red Cross and serving as Chancellor of his old University at Manchester. But Churchill had a berth for him too. Despite his own addiction to the past, he perceived that the vicar-for-tea and county family domination of the Conservative Party could only insure defeat in the postwar period. He saw that it was not enough just to be against those "socialist chaps, Attlee, Bevin, Cripps, Morrison & Co." They had to be challenged in their own strongholds. Their organization had to be met head on in every village lane and city street.

Woolton began his new assignment devoid of delusions. He had to infuse the Conservative Party with a new fighting spirit. He had to make it more than a vehicle for platitudes about the merits of private as against public enterprise. He had to raise money. He had to change Conservative thinking from yesterday's Empire supremacy to today's Marshall Plan dependency. He began by taking direct personal control over the Conservative Central Office which is the Party's power house. It is this top Party appendage which goes after financial support, selects Parliamentary candidates and helps the local associations to put on their election campaigns. Woolton has doubled the active party membership and has accumulated a million and a quarter pounds as an election slush fund.

Woolton knows that a party organization is no stronger than its grassroots base. He has therefore overhauled and modernized the party's National Union of conservative associations which started out in 1870 as something completely independent of the Conservative Central Office. The National Union since its inception actually has represented the voice of the Party's rank and file. In more recent years, that voice has become merely a whisper of assent. Lord Woolton is making that voice into a shout, by turning the National Union the sounding board for the aims and views of the greengrocer, the clerk, the tobacconist, as well as doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, executives and civil servants in the middle and higher brackets. In modernizing this National Union, Woolton has tightened up the local organization.

Woolton Goes to the People

As model he used the structure of the wartime air raid protection—the street captain, the block supervisor, the administrator for the whole area. In rejuvenating both the Central Office and the National Union, Woolton's talks to thousands of Britishers whom he seeks out on his constant tours around England. Many call him "Old Fred," synonym for old reliable. His contact with the man on the street has persuaded him that the whole Conservative policy has to be liberalized. Instead of Labor's welfare state, he would offer a British variant of Sweden's "middle way" as a compromise between the Tories who would rather die on their prejudices than surrender to their opportunities and the Laborites to whom nationalization is the life and redemption.

In seeking to close Conservative ranks against Labor, Woolton is not without internal party troubles. The redoubtable, the magnificent Churchill is the symbol and oracle of Tory loyalties but once immersed in his painting or his incomparable memoirs, he tends to ignore all questions of practical politics even when he emerges from time to time to deal with high policy from the back bench. Anthony Eden holds the moderate Tory vote but has never been able to assist Woolton to formulate in imaginative and dramatic fashion a case for a Conservative return that would arouse enthusiasm rather than merely agreement.

The Credo of a Practical Politician

It is Woolton who is not only the Jim Farley running the political machine but who also has been forced to become the Party's pamphleteer. As credo he quotes the famous 18th Century pamphleteer Junius: "We can never be really in danger till the forms of Parliament are made use of to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties; till Parliament itself betrays its trust by employing the weapons committed to it by the collective body to stab the Constitution."

Woolton's program for adult political education is very British, very solid and authoritative. A series of "Topics for Today" deals with contemporary problems in handy pocket size booklets. Its No. 10, entitled "Export or Die," typifies the realistic approach that Woolton is getting into his publicity. The Party's Monthly Survey of foreign affairs covers the international highlights of the previous thirty days with topics ranging from Western Union and the Italian colonies to the independence of Indonesia.

Woolton has inaugurated a series of Postal Study Courses at ten shillings each, which introduces the

reader to politics and economics and sociology and kindred topics. Woolton has also established study groups who are supplied with excellent background ABC literature. These groups cover workaday Britain from farmer to trade union member, to merchant to architect to housewife. They meet in parlors, in offices, in clubs, and they talk frankly and knowledgeably about what they would like to see done concerning the United Nations, the Commonwealth, housing, Germany, and new tax policies. Woolton is confident that this "radar system" by which the Conservative Party can detect and crystallize the thinking of many people whom it had previously ignored may be the secret weapon for a revival of Conservative strength in Britain.

Woolton has perceived that insularity has been renewed, if not enshrined in postwar Britain. The people are absorbed in their own domestic problems—those of existence under the aegis of austerity. They concentrate on taxes and on prices, on wages and on food. The British voter, once an authority on world affairs, now tends to ignore events which are remote from his own economic pressures and the vision of the Missus queuing up daily for the ration of fish and chips.

Hence, the Conservatives desperately attack the very idea of nationalization in an all-out effort to arrest, if not to reverse, Labor's program of national planning which they contend will destroy not only private enterprise but also private freedom.

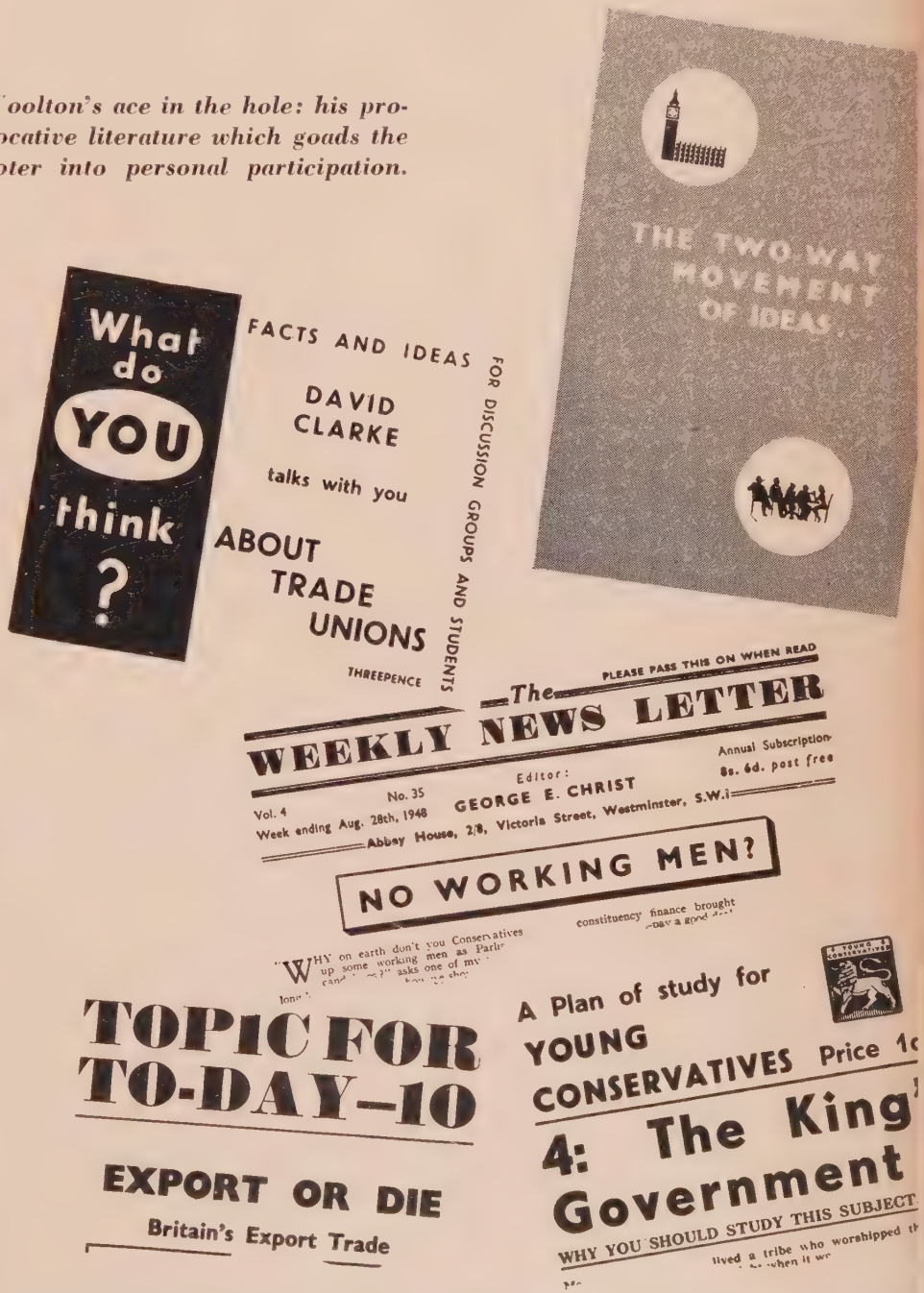
Against Woolton's own preferences, many Tories participate in a whispering campaign to the effect that American congressmen are extremely worried about the Labor Government's encroachments upon private enterprise and that, if Labor gains a second five-year term of office Washington's assistance to Britain will inevitably decline.

Labor spokesmen reply that hostility toward their nationalization plans is inspired by "Wall Street," and does not reflect the belief of the American people as a whole.

It is Woolton's personal view that nationalization, as an issue, has been used to the point of boredom, and that the Conservative Party has to focus upon other questions of the day if the Laborites are to be unseated. Hence, under his guidance, the Conservatives invoke the results of the mid-winter Commonwealth elections in New Zealand and Australia to underscore their argument that the tide is turning against socialism throughout the free world. They point out that these resounding Labor defeats "down under" took place during periods of full employment.

But what Woolton and his aides are really concentrating on are promises to improve the material well-being of the average Briton while retaining, in all essentials, the social services which the Labor regime has either begun or expanded. In this way, Woolton's board of strategy believes that it can split the opposition at the points where its cohesion may be weakest, namely, in the coalition of specialists and brain trusters and of white collar members of the vast British cooperative movement

Woolton's ace in the hole: his provocative literature which goads the voter into personal participation.



Lord Woolton *continued*

and the trade unionists, from all of whom the 50-year-old Labor Party has drawn strength and support.

The Fight for More Labor Votes

To be sure, the Attlee, Bevin, Cripps combine maintains the support of the five great union groups. But the Conservatives under Woolton have been with some success enlarging the nucleus of a million and a half union members who voted against Labor in 1945. Woolton's scouts recently reported to him that very substantial inroads are being made among Union members. The propaganda here is simple and cogent. It stresses the idea that future socialism automatically will destroy the very basis of trade unionism, that Labor leaders become the government which in turn is the omnicompetent state as employer. The Conservatives argue that this transformation of union spokesman into "Whitehall boss" not only leaves the rank and file without any actual voice and vote in what remain management-labor relations but will eventually introduce the labor regimentation of the totalitarian society.

At the same time, Woolton and his aides are wooing the more Conservative members of the cooperatives, farmers snarled in the red tape of crop restrictions, physicians and other professionals resentful of excessive taxes, the ration-weary shopkeeper and the government employee who often thinks he had it better before Labor came into power. Just to what extent the disillusioned and the disaffected among these middle class strata which *in toto* represents one-third of Britain remains to be proved at the polls. Yet there can be no question but that the middle class itself holds the balance of political power for 1950. That is why Lord Woolton has made a continuing effort to win their minds and their votes—whether by pamphlet, by study group, by radio broadcast, by newspaper editorials, by personal letters—by all the paraphernalia used "to sell" any idea political or commercial.

Lord Woolton is hoping that from among this middle class alignment, the Conservatives can swing the 7.4% extra votes that at the least would yield them an equal number of seats in Parliament with Labor.

In this respect, the December by-election in South Bradford is claimed by the Conservatives to be a portent favoring their return to power. They admit that this election marked Labor's thirty-fifth win in a contested parliamentary seat since 1945, but the Conservatives did manage to cut the plurality in half and pick up an astonishing number of votes in this Yorkshire textile town which for half a century has been almost instinctively pro-Labor.

Perhaps even more significant is the fact that more than 27 per cent of the voters did not go to the polls —this is almost twice the percentage of "undecided" voters reported by Dr. Gallup in a year-end survey by the British Institute of Public Opinion.

The Conservatives take the view that they have a better chance to get the vote in a major election of those who stayed away in a minor election, than does the Labor Party which already has its fully functioning apparatus in every community.

A Big Man— Physically and Morally

As he moves about his 18-hour-a-day task, Lord Woolton brushes his gray hair back over his ears with the nervous gesture of a worried impresario. On the whole, however, he conveys the impression of calm, of discipline and of purposefulness. He is, in a sense, a man with a mission. He has never forgotten the abrasive poverty that he witnessed in Liverpool's own Limehouse during his early social welfare days. He believes that he can simultaneously bring the Conservative Party into the mid-twentieth century intact. His friends say of Lord Woolton that he "thinks largely." Certainly that largeness of vision is matched by his physical size. He stands at more than 6 feet 1, and his shoulders are those of an American fullback. He is impeccably groomed, and usually wears a black morning coat with "embassy" trousers that hang with Bond Street precision.

For all his devotion to the Conservative cause, he is determined that his Party, win, lose or draw, must unfurl a banner wider and broader than the old school tie.

Will Lord Woolton's efforts change this picture on February 23?

The Party Lineup in Parliament

	1945	*1949*	*1950*
Labor	393	394	?
Conservative	189	192	?
Liberal	12	12	?
I.L.P.	3	1	?
Communist	2	2	?
Commonwealth	1	—	?
Irish Nationalist	2	2	?
Ulster Nationalist	9	10	?
Liberal Nationalist	13	13	?
National	2	2	?
Independent	14	12	?

The inside story of how and why 26 major revolutions shook Latin America in the last 10 years—with more to come—is revealed by an international military and political authority. On the basis of personal experience, the author reveals the typical methods and techniques of the juntas.

The Technique Of Coup d'Etat *In Latin America*

By COL. KURT CONRAD ARNADE

It would be absurd to suppose that some police chief or general heading a contingent of some twenty-five soldiers could walk into the Capitol, in Washington, declare himself and his friends the new "Board of Government," and follow his proclamation with the dissolution of Congress and promise of a new election. Such an action in the United States would be tantamount to lunacy. Why then is it possible in the capitals of South and Central America?

What, we ask ourselves, is the solution to the enigma which underlies the succession of political upheavals, plots and counterplots which has characterized our good neighbors? We find no hint of political naïveté or intractability in our friends, the statesmen from these countries. On the contrary; in them we observe a finely-drawn culture and a type of social philosophy which would seem to derive from stable and mature governments. Nor is there any hint of instability in the agreements and treaties of these countries, documents drafted with such sagacity and refinement of detail as to dim the thought that internal violence in these countries was even a remote possibility.

Why then do the perennial Latin American *coups d'état* meet with such docile acceptance? What becomes of the high ranking officers and police officials who have sworn fealty to the constitution of the country? What is the role on such occasions of the Members of Parliament and of the Supreme Court?

There are a number of answers to these questions, but all hinge on the cardinal fact that Latin American countries today, with the exception of Uruguay and Chile, are nominal but not actual democracies. It would be more in the line of reality to speak of them as oligarchies—in the classical Greek sense of the word. Their democracy is essentially a democracy of the upper classes. Rule is essentially centered in a circle of large land owners, influential families, and militarists. This circle controls the press and radio, molds public opinion, and dictates political policy.

The so-called revolutions are for the most part intestine affairs, not involving issues outside the circle. Motives for political violence in these countries are usually found in such transient factors as injured vanity, personal insults, competition between personalities or business interests within the group. The conflicts are virtually never concerned with broad or significant national issues; they seldom reflect the antagonism between left and right, labor and management, or socialism and capitalism.

The recent revolution in Panama is a case in point. Dr. Chanis, the legally-elected president, and Colonel Remon, the chief of police, had long been personal enemies. The Panamanian Supreme Court had handed down a decision disbanding certain monopolies, including the one affecting slaughtering. According to charges later made by Dr. Chanis and others, Colonel Remon was himself a large stockholder in these enterprises. But whether or not this is true, Colonel Remon refused to enforce the Court's order. He responded, instead, with a *coup d'état.*

In Cochabamba, Bolivia, I was once witness to a revolt instigated by Colonel Peño y Lillo, commander of an influential officers' training school. The revolt was entirely without political significance. The motivating factor was a personal one. Colonel Peño y Lillo had served in the Chaco war

against Paraguay. His record was that of an efficient officer, competent organizer, and a gentleman. But since his organizing ability had been utilized almost exclusively for supply rather than combat activities, rumors—in my opinion completely unjustified—were circulated to the effect that he was a coward.

It was Colonel Peño y Lillo's belief that his commanding officer, General Quintanilla, was responsible for the rumors. When, after the war, General Quintanilla became president of Bolivia, Colonel Peño y Lillo sought revenge. The revolt was the expression of his sense of personal injury.

The oligarchic nature of Latin American governments is abetted by the fact that large segments of the population take no interest in politics.

The majority of the inhabitants of these countries live in remote and often scarcely-accessible areas. To reach the polls, long journeys are often necessary, sometimes through jungles, across bridgeless rivers, and along roads impassable during bad weather. Why go to all that trouble? And for what? Most of the citizens of Latin American countries have learned through experience that elections are a tweedledum-tweedledee affair, and that a change in government means only a change of the men in power—not of conditions affecting their daily living.

This is not to say that there is not in Latin America a large liberal and politically-mature group to which the corruption and social incompetence of such governmental opportunism is abhorrent. This group, however, perhaps because of its importance in the face of intransigeant realities, has acquired an ivory tower attitude, and for the most part takes refuge in professional work or travel abroad.

Revolutions Replace Wars

The number of wars in Latin America, in contradistinction to the number of revolutions, has in the course of several centuries been small —especially when considered in the frame of reference provided by Europe and Asia. The long period of peaceful training embellished only with tactical maneuvers and occasional parades does not satisfy the urge for activity of ambitious and energetic officers. These men look for additional outlets for what in the military sphere would correspond to the artist's "creative urge."

One of the most intelligent officers I have known was the Bolivian Major Armejo, who in the course of his long career had been obliged to spend most of his time with small garrisons in such remote places as Charana, on the Chilean frontier, high in the Cordilleras, and Choretti, an outpost in the steaming, disease-ridden jungle.

During his years of service with these isolated garrisons, the radio and books were his only bridge to the outside world. Lack of contact with society and with a cosmopolitan spread of ideas made him, as well as his fellow officers, susceptible to the new doctrines being voiced by Hitler and Mussolini. To them radical political activity of any sort spelled escape from their tedious life of inaction, isolation, and seclusion.

As a result of this isolation and pent-up desire for activity, Major Armejo eagerly welcomed every opportunity to become involved in *coups d'état* and revolutions. He usually was given a mild punishment and sent back to a post even more remote where he plotted and planned anew until the next political upheaval came into view.

So far we have considered the role of high-ranking officers in the periodic uprisings. But what of the subordinate officers and the rank-and-file soldiers, all of whom have taken oaths to support the Constitution? What of the civilian officials? Why do they not oppose the breach of constitutional procedure and violation of the oath to which they are committed?

To this there is a simple answer. The subordinate military personnel and government officials are voiceless pawns in the major operation, and they know well what it will mean to them to be on the lists of the losing party. For military men in the lower ranks, an unlucky affiliation means transfer to a back-country garrison and loss of promotion; for higher ranking officers and civilian officials it means discharge and loss of pension. It follows that alignment with the winning group is a matter of paramount importance in terms of position and security. Where revolts have only a slight chance of success, military subordinates affiliate themselves with their commanders, and put faith in the device so often utilized by Nazi underlings: "Orders are orders, and it is a soldier's duty not to question but obey."

Another form of opportunism is employed by military personnel and civil servants in communities remote from the scene of action. During uprisings it is usually the policy of hinterland officials to ignore government orders and notices. Everyone, in fact, is quite happy when regular communications are interrupted by the revolutionaries. At such moments, no news is good news, and permits officialdom to adopt a safe Fabian policy. Many functionaries so isolated declare themselves neutral, in order to be "on the side of the people" no matter which faction wins.

A Typical Police Chief

I once had an opportunity to observe such diplomatic tactics at close range. News had come to the small Bolivian town in which I was stationed that a revolt led by young officers had developed in the capital. I asked the police captain in my precinct if he had enough arms and ammunition to maintain order throughout our area.

"Colonel," he replied, "as you know, I am a loyal police officer and will always carry out my orders. But first, I am sorry to say, I don't know anything about the revolution. Second, about the ammunition: I sent yesterday most of our firearms to Headquarters for cleaning and repair—because they were in bad shape. If Headquarters doesn't send them back, there is nothing I can do."

When we compare the cyclic revolutions which occur south of the Rio Grande with revolutions in other parts

(Continued on page 24)

The Plague of Latin America

A Revolution Every Five Months

The tragic box score of the 26 major revolutions from 1940 to 1949. (This does not take into account periodical upheavals, riots without change of governments, such as occurred recently in Colombia.)

1—PARAGUAY 1940: President Gen. Jose Felix Estigarribia sets up dictatorial rule with Army support.

2—ARGENTINA 1940: Army and Nazi conspiracy to overthrow President Roberto M. Ortiz thwarted.

3—PARAGUAY 1940: Provisional President Gen. Higinio Morinigo continues Estigarribia's dictatorial rule.

4—CUBA 1941: Attempts of Army and Navy chiefs to seize power thwarted.

5—PANAMA 1941: President Arnulfo Arias overthrown for supposedly pro-Nazi sympathies.

6—BOLIVIA 1942: Coup by German Nazis and Bolivian Army circles to seize power foiled by President.

7—ARGENTINA 1943: High Army officers overthrow acting constitutional President Castillo's government placing General Rawson in power.

8—BOLIVIA 1943: President Peñaranda ousted by army clique.

9—ARGENTINA 1944: President Ramirez overthrown. Replaced by Acting President Farrell.

10—EL SALVADOR 1944: President Martinez resigns following revolts.

11—GUATEMALA 1944: President Ubico resigns after political upheaval.

12—BRAZIL 1945: Officers' coup and political uneasiness force President Vargas' resignation.

13—VENEZUELA 1945: Revolution deposes President Medina Angarita.

14—HAITI 1946: Military junta replaces President Elie Lescot.

15—BOLIVIA 1946: Dictator Villaroel is hanged.

16—NICARAGUA 1947: President ousted by National Guard.

17—ECUADOR 1947: President Ibarra ousted by military forces.

18—COSTA RICA 1948: President forced out by revolutionary junta.

19—COLOMBIA 1948: Bloody revolts take place during Bogota Hemispheric Conference.

20—PARAGUAY 1948: President Morinigo ousted. (June)

21—PARAGUAY 1948: New coup fails. (October)

22—PERU 1948: President Bustamante ousted by military clique.

23—VENEZUELA 1948: Constitutional President Romulo Gallegos overthrown by army coup.

24—EL SALVADOR 1948: President Castro deposed by officers.

25—BOLIVIA 1949: Attempts by remnants of Villaroel's supporters (see 15) to regain power are foiled after long fighting.

26—PANAMA 1949: Dr. Arnulfo Arias becomes third president within six days, ousting Dr. Chiari who in turn ousted Dr. Chanis.

Note: We have kept this page open until the last moment, lest while we were at press a twenty-seventh revolution occur.

of the world, we can distinguish a special design stamped, perhaps, with the words, "Made in Latin America." About eighty-five percent of the Latin American revolutions are relatively bloodless and of short duration because they lack the interest and active participation of the masses. When, however, the people's interests are involved, as in Bolivia's *Revolución Libertadora* of 1946, which was a struggle to overthrow a cruel and oppressive regime, the upsurge assumes the turbulent form which characterizes all struggles of liberation, the classical examples of which are the French and Russian revolutions. But even in such revolutions, the aftermath of terror and bloodshed ends more quickly.

The Grand Strategy of the Junta

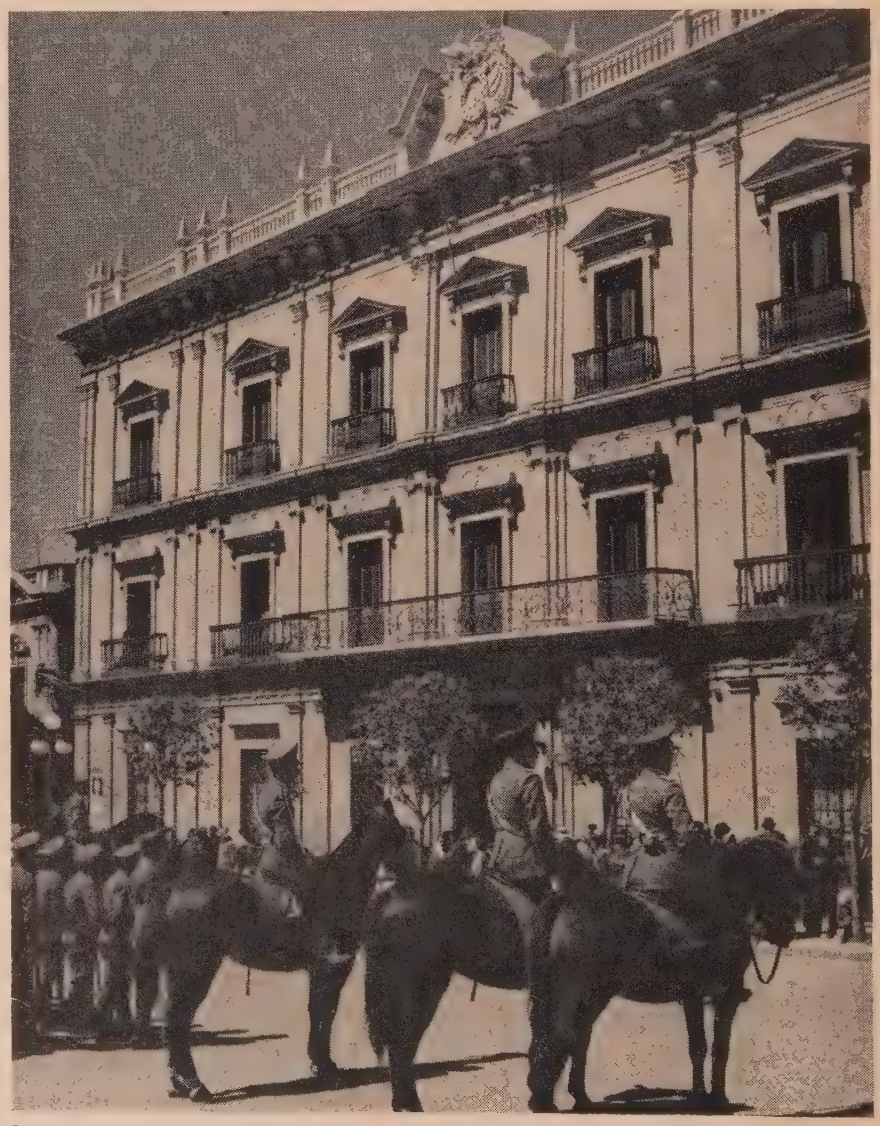
The strategy of most Latin American revolutions follow a formal and almost standardized pattern. The new government, or more properly, "*Junta de Gobierno,*" is formed well in advance of the actual uprising. Key men are selected for all strategic offices. Other supporters, usually former diplomats, are planted in the capitals of other countries to negotiate a speedy recognition of the new "democratic" government, once the *coup* has been accomplished. Lines of retreat to countries friendly to the plotters are also established, making a swift exit possible should plans miscarry. In today's revolution it is also fashionable to import from the United States trained air force "mercenaries," who can double in civilian air transport capacities, once the revolution has been effected.

Preparatory techniques usually include use of the old Roman principle of *Columnare audactor, semper aliquid haered,* that is, "Always slander, something sticks." Stories attacking the government in power are invented and given wide circulation. Time-tried themes are the corruption of the officials, privileges accorded favored business interests, and treaties entered into by the government which run contrary to the sovereignty, economic welfare, or democratic traditions of the country. Small details are exaggerated and distorted until they appear as major crimes. The *Junta* strikes before the slanders can be neutralized by counter-propaganda.

The following is an illustration of this technique: Some years ago Bolivia's dictatorial President Busch confiscated certain oil lands which had been leased legally to the Standard Oil Company. Extensive litigation was the consequence. A later government, under President Peñaranda, ended the protracted and embarrassing litigation with a gentlemen's agreement acceptable to both sides.

President Peñaranda's enemies at once made capital of what was actually a masterful act of commercial diplomacy. He was accused openly of treasonable sale of national rights, and a story—an outright fabrication—was circulated to the effect that Peñaranda and his Secretary of Foreign Affairs were direct personal beneficiaries of the settlement.

A few weeks later a serious strike developed in one of the mines. The local police were not equipped to maintain order in the mine area and consequently were reinforced with a battalion of infantry. It is customary for troops in such situations to use only blank cartridges when called on to fire, the sound of the fire being sufficient to restore order without bloodshed. In this instance, however. Major Villaroel, chief of the opera-



THIS IS HOW IT HAPPENS. Troops led by Lieut. Col. Busch surrounded the presidential Palace in La Paz, Bolivia, in 1937. The government was forced to resign.

tions section of the general staff and a secret conspirator, saw to it that blank cartridges were replaced by live ammunition. When the troops were ordered to fire on the strikers a considerable loss of life resulted. The conspirators, including Villaroel, then accused the President of "wanton murder."

Revolutions are scheduled almost invariably for holiday or Sunday afternoons. At such times official offices are empty, and the President and department chiefs out of communication with one another.

I once received an invitation to attend a party at the house of a high government official. On entering the house I discovered that the *Junta* had originated the invitation, and, after assembling the entire government in one reception room, locked the doors and assumed power.

On another occasion, I went to an airfield to meet a President returning from a state visit abroad. As I was waiting, together with a police official, word arrived that armed revolutionary officers in civil dress had surrounded the field and were waiting to take the President prisoner. A message was radioed the President to continue his flight. No action could be taken against the officers because no overt action had taken place.

Can Revolutions be Stopped?

Illustrations of this nature can be cited by the hundreds. But what conclusions do they lead to? How can the United Nations or friends outside Latin America aid in establishing political stability and guarantees of constitutional democratic procedures in the countries to the south?

There are no easy answers. Latin American political factors are derivative of other internal factors, including problems of economy, communication, education, population groups, and terrain. External diplomatic or economic pressures can in no way alter the internal structure of these countries.

I would like to cite an example of a typical Latin American revolution. On December 20, 1943, a small group of young Bolivian officers, stimulated by the examples of Hitler and Mussolini, formed a secret *loggia* with some seventy members. The announced aims of the *loggia* were (1) eliminating corruption from government, (2) extension of communications, (3) construction of new railroads, (4) universal education, (5) absorption of Indians in national life and abolition of discriminations, (6) land reforms.

An inner circle consisting of fifteen officers—the future *Junta de Gobierno*—had been formed, and this was charged with establishing a program for dictatorship, directing a campaign against democratic political parties, and effecting cooperation with extreme rightist elements.

Plots, Agents, Emergencies

A campaign of slander had been launched against the government some weeks previously, and the government, observing the traditions of free speech and a free press, had taken no steps to offset it. Finally, when it became obvious to the government that foreign agents were implicated in these activities, a state of emergency was declared. This was taken by the conspirators as a signal for revolt.

On the afternoon of Sunday, December 20th, at exactly five o'clock, the central communications building in the capital was seized by a small group of technicians especially trained for this task by Major Ponce, leader of the conspirators. Regular telephone and telegraph services were permitted as usual, but all communications with offices of the government, city, and police were interrupted. Within fifteen minutes all police stations in the city, operating as they were with diminished holiday personnel, were taken over by the revolutionists. A squad of officers then entered the relatively unprotected Presidential Palace and placed the President under arrest. Other members of the government were arrested at their homes or at points to which they had been summoned by various ruses.

The same procedures were followed in the provincial towns of Oruro, Cochabamba, and Sta. Cruz. Here the conspirators were merely waiting for word from the capital to the effect that operations had succeeded according to plan. In Cochabamba, where I lived, the city and government officials were confined in the building of the War Academy, and youngsters who the day before had been students and subordinates, suddenly found themselves the jailers of their teachers and superiors. The revolution was completed in seven hours. Not a single shot was fired.

I personally escaped imprisonment by a stratagem. For some days I had been suffering from a cold. When the officers came to arrest me I suggested that they keep some distance away from me inasmuch as I probably had a diphtherial throat infection. The heroes at once backed out of the room, promising to send an army doctor the following day.

What Price Loyalty?

When the doctor finally was announced, I put an open wallet containing 200 pesos on my night table. The doctor observed the pesos and immediately declared me dangerously ill and not able to withstand transportation. When he departed the 200 pesos left with him.

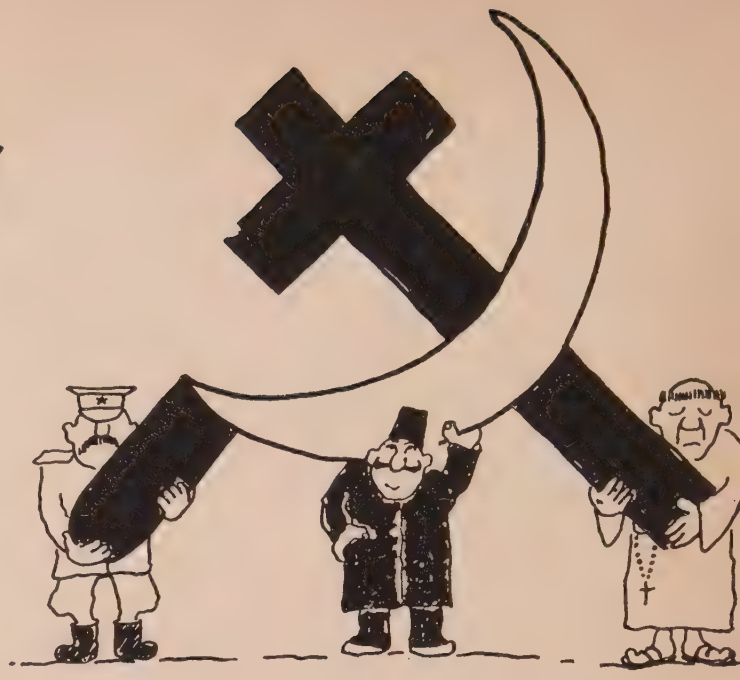
An hour later I heard over the radio an announcement that the new government—the one which the army doctor had diplomatically praised during his visit—would now definitely suppress all corruption.

I was satisfied.

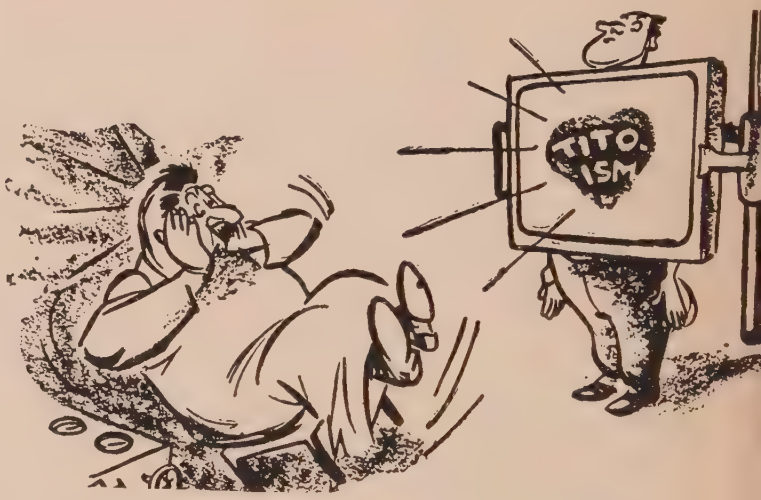
The Author

A former member of the German General Staff, who left Germany because of his opposition to the Nazi regime, Col. Arnade became military adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in 1935. He has since served as a Professor of Military History and Tactics at Bolivia's West Point and military adviser to the Government of Bolivia. He is the author of the important article *Should We Arm Latin America?* which appeared in the November issue of United Nations World.

Laughter Around The World



"An emblem for International Jerusalem"
Ashmoreth (Tel Av



The Advanced Disease of World Communism
Stockholms-Tidningen (Stockhol

American Pediatrics
Noir et Blanc (Paris

Nanny, buy me that!
The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney, Australia)

The Shining Lights of Christmas—West and East
Weltwoche (Zurich)

nesia's Daddy Hatta to Baby New Guinea: "In another year, you can join the family."
Spektra (Jakarta, Indonesia)

Something new has been added
Szpilki (Warsaw)

Germania: Before and After
Blix in Dagbladed (Oslo)

Friends of the US everywhere in the world will be happy to read this story. They have been bewildered by the remnants of race discrimination impossible to reconcile with American democracy. Here is revealed to them the power and the initiative of the greatest American reformer—public opinion from the grass roots.

The Lesson of Ridgewood

By LEO LANIA

RIDGEWOOD, New Jersey, is about an hour's bus ride from Times Square. As a city of 20,000, it has nothing spectacular to offer in the way of natural beauty or society page news or historical shrines. And yet this little community within the past few months has made history—history of a very important kind.

It began in November 1948.

Among Ridgewood's residents are some 2000 Negroes, most of whom, while hardly prosperous, do have steady incomes and own their own homes. South Broad Street is the heart of the negro section. Unlike New York's Harlem, it has very little semblance to a slum. South Broad Street itself is a well paved, clean avenue flanked by old trees and each house—whether of brick or wood—is surrounded by well tended lawns. Even the poor homes exude an air of middle-class respectability.

But in the center of South Broad Street stand three old dilapidated three-storey buildings. The paint has long been all chipped off their green brick. A few steps of stone lead up to the typical doorway opening into a dark corridor which exudes the odor of poverty. At each sagging step the wooden staircase creaks and wobbles.

There is no electric light. There is no modern plumbing. When it rains, water drips through the ceiling, spotting walls and furniture.

These three houses are inhabited by 18 families. The men are employed either as truck drivers or as day laborers while the women work as house maids or cooks.

Some 15 months ago, these 18 families were thrown into a panic. The Board of Health had adjudged the three houses unfit for occupancy. Hence the landlord—the Bar-Well Realty Company—was ordered to make the necessary repairs, to replace the Chic Sale variety of plumbing with the modern sort and to supplant the kerosene stoves which were a perpetual fire hazard by a modern heating system. The landlord, in turn, evicted the 18 negro families. While he was ready to comply with the Board of Health requirements, he argued that he could not spend the money involved unless he could rent the remodeled apartments at a much higher figure than the current tenants could afford to pay. Some days later, the 18 families were subpoenaed to appear in the District Court and show reason why they should not be ousted.

Their cause was pleaded by a local lawyer, Bennett H. Fishler, Jr., son of the publisher of the *Ridgewood News*. He affirmed that eviction would bring undue hardship to his clients, the more particularly since they had sought very hard to find new living quarters but could get none within a radius of 20 miles.

The Judge, Hon. Michael Dwyer, understood fully the plight of the evictees. "This is a social problem," he asserted. "The scarcity of housing and the even greater dearth of places which admit Negroes must be taken into consideration. To expect these people who, up to now have paid a monthly rent of $20, to pay $100 is simply preposterous. It might as well be $1000 as far as they are concerned." On the other hand, he pointed out, the landlord was clearly acting in accord with the letter and spirit of the law. Hence, although the Judge stated that "here more is involved than a question of law," he was unable to rule against the landlord. He suggested a compromise: that the eviction should be postponed for two more months to enable the negroes to make still further efforts to find new dwellings.

But when these 8 weeks had passed, in the middle of January 1949, the tenants were still exactly where they had been before. They simply could not find places to live. Meantime, the Bar-Well Realty Company had been granted a building permit to alter and repair the three houses. The day this work was to begin, the 18 families would be without a roof over their heads.

At this juncture something unexpected happened. The white residents of Ridgewood made the contest between the 18 negro families and the landlord their own. First of all, Pastor David H. Bradley of the Zion Church, the spiritual leader of the negro community, appealed to the other churches for help. The Uni-

MAGNIFICENT civic response saved the Bar - Well Apartments for 18 families.

tarians responded immediately and pledged their support. The League of Women Voters and the different service groups followed suit. Three citizens paced the campaign: Delbert Replogle, a local appliance manufacturer; R. M. Sand, a columnist on the staff of the *Ridgewood News;* and Roland Anderson, a high school teacher from neighboring Passaic.

Mr. Replogle, a devoted Quaker, had just returned from the Near East where he had helped to organize the relief work for Arab refugees. It was he who called the first general meeting for the various interested organizations and groups.

At first glance, it seemed as if this whole affair would follow the dismal usual pattern. A resolution was duly passed. A committee was formed. It conveyed to the Mayor of Ridgewood, Hon. Clarence M. Malone, "the concern of the community about the plight of the Negroes." The committee urged that they be helped and that if necessary the state authorities intervene. The immediate result of this appeal was, as usual, not very encouraging. To be sure, the eviction order was again delayed for another year. But beyond that neither the Mayor nor the City Welfare Commission could go. They said they were powerless to act.

The committee elected five of its members "to investigate all the possibilities of providing low cost housing for the needy families and to report about its findings in two weeks." In contrast to the usual procedure, the committee went to work at once. It submitted its reports on schedule. But once again, all their efforts did nothing to help the 18 families out of their predicament.

It became increasingly evident that more than committees and resolutions was needed. What was needed was self-determination, which means self-help.

As this idea struck home, the *Ridgewood News* proclaimed it from its front page. If the citizens of Ridgewood would be willing to raise approximately $75,000, the houses could be bought for a price of $45,000 and the remaining $30,000 could then be allotted for remodeling and repairs. Thus the ugly scar on Ridgewood's face could be removed and 18 families saved from the fear of homelessness.

At a dinner in the Zion Church, attended by more than 300 citizens —men and women of all religious creeds—Negroes and whites—the following plan was evolved to raise the necessary funds: 3000 shares of stock at $25 each were to be issued by the committee. These shares were not to yield dividends but instead, purchasers could expect a gradual increase in the value of their investment "estimated but not guaranteed at the rate of 2 per cent per year." The anticipated rental income was $11,000 while the expenses added up yearly to about $8,000.

According to this curious prospectus, "the difference will be used to repurchase for the tenants the shares of stock from the other investors so that the 18 families will eventually acquire complete ownership of the three houses."

On the 25th of September, 1949, the campaign got under way. Three hundred citizens volunteered as salesmen. This proclamation marked the opening of the drive: "The eyes of the nation are upon us. What will they see? Eighteen dispossessed families out on the sidewalk? Or the same families through self-help and community interest, living in substantially improved homes? Squalor with a ribbon of fine homes around it is still squalor."

A few weeks ago the campaign ended. Almost all the shares had been sold and nearly $65,000 raised. Some 90 per cent of the money came from the so-called "little people"—workers, salesgirls, truck drivers, proprietors of stationery and candy stores—most of them bought single shares at $25 each. It was they and not the banks or big department stores who insured the success of this campaign.

Today the 18 families can breathe freely again. But this victory has done even more. This common experience has drawn the people of Ridgewood together more closely than ever before. It has generated a new sense of community responsibility. As a result, new city-wide projects are in preparation. During the celebration of United Nations week, Ridgewood was the center of activity for the whole State of New Jersey, as special lectures were given and exhibitions held on the work of the United Nations.

It might be argued that the welfare of 18 families means little at a time when millions of people are in acute and desperate need. It might even be said that after all only a very little was accomplished and that little was itself only a drop in the bucket.

But Ridgewood believes that in order to help millions, one first must be ready to regard the well-being of 18 families as something important enough to mobilize individual and community resources in the unending fight for tolerance and mutual aid.

The very day when Ridgewood successfully completed its campaign, US newspapers headlined a news item about a "white supremacy" zealot who had offered a small college in Mississippi the sum of $50,000,000 if it would exclude Negroes and Jews. The college refused to accept this endowment under the conditions that went with it.

The story of this proposed $50,000,000 grant made the front pages. The story of Ridgewood did not. Yet it is a good and warm thing to know that $75,000 gained a victory while $50,000,000 went down to defeat.

Hatred has ceased between Palestine's Arabs and Jews. Yet under the surface of friendly intercourse, there persist the clash of cultures and the strain of economic dislocation.

The Crescent In The Star of David

By DON PERETZ

Pictures by Robert Capa

YOU can get the best Arab food in austerity-ridden Israel at Abu Christu's, the Greek restaurant in the Old City of Acre. At noon you will find there the cherubic Rehav-Am Amir, Jewish Military Governor of Western Galilee and several of his aides in the khaki shorts and blouses of the Israeli army. At an adjoining table will be sitting a Druse sheikh and his henchmen. They all have Stalin-like mustaches and are dressed in flowing Arab garments: the abaya, a long cloak-like robe; and kafiya, a square cloth headcover. A few tables away a clean shaven, blond young man dressed in the best Bond Street style chatters excitedly to an American foreign correspondent who ticks off notes at a rapid pace. The blond youth is an Arab Communist leader spilling over into the American's ear all the dissatisfaction of the Arab population under military rule.

THE FAITHFUL are still called to prayer from the balcony of the glistening slender minaret which stands miraculously intact among the rubble of Tarshia.

The young Israeli officers will be joking in Hebrew, the Druses swearing in Arabic, the Communist perorating in English. But they all are eating humos and kabab—ground spiced beans and squares of mutton grilled on an open fire. This is Abu Christu's Arab specialty.

Abu Christu's, the meeting place of Western Galilee's notables, vividly illustrates the relationships between Jews and Arabs in Israel today. There is no longer hatred between them. The two groups mix freely and without fear. The Jews feel secure in the Arab areas and want to be friends with their new minorities.

But, although friction and tension have ceased, all is not well yet in Galilee. The Arabs, except for the Druses, still feel confused and even restive. Many are disappointed because they cannot be immediately absorbed into the new state. Some claim they are discriminated against in getting jobs. Others chafe under military security regulations. Arab citizens of Israel still need special permits to travel from one town to another. The Jewish answer is that "There is still a war situation." The Druses, on the other hand, are a favored minority who contributed hundreds of soldiers to the Israel army. They claim they have never been so well off as under the new state. For the first time, they say, they can freely practice their own religion, which is an outgrowth of Mohammedanism.

The main trouble, however, has its

ALMS FOR THE LOVE OF ALLAH . . . HIS SHADOW GROWS LONGER AS ACRE'S OLDEST BEGGAR MAKES ROUNDS

Crescent in the Star *continued*

roots not in political but in economic problems: the total disruption of trade, commerce, and local industries.

Abu Christu's tables are spread in the open on an ancient cobblestoned plaza facing the Acre waterfront. Four decades ago, when Haifa Port was but a lot of sand dunes, lighters unloaded from ships arriving from all over the Mediterranean at this spot. Then Acre was one of the Mediterranean's oldest and prosperous ports. Today it is totally inactive.

Every noon a pitifully ragged old beggar, bent over nearly double, supported by a stick and his blind sister, comes braying at Abu Christu's tables: "Alms for the love of Allah, for the love of Allah!" The ninety-year-old man is a reminder of better days. Once he was the strongest porter in Acre. Today he lives off begging and the monthly ration of flour he receives from the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees.

In the maze of narrow streets that tangle themselves about the Greek's restaurant there are scores of shops. They are the Old City's *souk*—or market place. Two years ago twenty thousand Arabs patronized these shops daily. Traders and caravan riders came down from Beirut and Damascus, and up from Jerusalem and Nablus, to buy camels, autos, abayas, suits, bananas, oranges, and all the wares of the Levantine coast. Then it was difficult to push one's way through the busy crowds.

Today only 3,000 Arabs remain in the town. The shops are nearly empty except for the shop keeper, a few canned goods, perhaps a handful of wormy potatoes, and matches, candy, and cigarettes. The owner of one of these shops is a young man whose main ware is *al-Ittahad*, the Arab Communist news-weekly. He is dressed in greasy overalls, has a two-day growth of beard, and a ferocious lock of hair hanging down over his forehead.

Before the Jews took Acre, he owned a garage in the New City on the other side of the great stone wall which divides the town into its Jewish and Arab sectors. He claimed he had been quite prosperous. "Today I have nothing. They took everything. Even my tools. All I want now is work. I'm a good mechanic. I'm ready to work. That's all any of us want. Work!"

The UNRPR ration of about 1,500

THE BIBLE COMES TO LIFE NEAR JUDEDIA: CEDARS IN THE WIND . . . FLOWING ROBES . . . AN ANCIENT WELL . . .

daily calories forms the basic diet of most Arabs in Acre. They supplement it with herbs dug from the fields or with some vegetables purchased with the few piasters saved from before the war or earned on some chance job during the month.

One of the recipients of these rations used to manage a chain of large English grocery stores in Haifa. Today he and his family of seven live with a relative and his family, in a single room in an ancient house on the sea front.

"When the 'Jewish blitz' hit Haifa rumors spread like a bushfire," he told me. "All the Arabs will be slaughtered. Flee for your lives. In a few days the Arab armies will be here to 'liberate' Haifa. Then return to your homes."

The rumors soon proved to be false. Today several of the ex-manager's Arab friends who did not flee are living in their own homes and employed in their pre-war occupations. He, as every Arab who fled, very much regretted ever leaving home.

My friend did not seem to have changed his suit since he fled Haifa two years ago. His wife and children were more fortunate. They had received clothing which the Quakers distributed some months earlier. Now nearly every Arab child wears at least one part of an American garment sent as a voluntary gift via the Quakers.

Although the war and the establishment of the new state reduced Acre's Arabs to poverty, they have as much respect as affection for their Military Governor, jovial Rehav-Am Amir. Rehav-Am's civilian occupation is teaching, but in World War II he parachuted from an English plane to lead Yugoslav partisans in behind the line attacks on the Nazis. Today he governs all of Western Galilee and its 40,000 Arab inhabitants, from a sprawling ex-British Police fortress in the New City of Acre. He sees the many problems that confront him in the light of an overall policy to be applied on a national scale.

"If we are to have a healthy state," the Governor told me, "we must absorb our Arab minority as equal citizens participating in the country's development. New standards must be created. We must teach them to desire more money and to desire to purchase more and better things with this money. They should want more books, better food and finer clothing. Only in this way can we build a secure and economically sound state."

The most difficult task facing the Military Governor and his administration is absorbing into Israel the

more than thirty Arab villages surrounding Acre.

Those villages represent an ancient agricultural social order where material life is unbelievably close to that of biblical times. In the village of Majd el-Kurum just off the main highway, one is struck by the sharp contrast of its inhabitants with Old Acre's Arabs. A group of men sitting on its haunches in front of the village store relates the gossip of the day: "The Military Governor is coming to visit"; or "Old Abu Nimir's brown mule died of colic"; or "There are new ordinances about absentee property." Only one or two wear European clothing or even the red fez. There are many more beards than in the city and every man has a mustache, the symbol of his virility. Most village males over five wear the abaya and kafiya.

The country women are not hidden at home or even veiled. At evening they flock from all the villages to the local well in colorful costumes designating their village of origin. As they advance ever so gracefully, balancing their water jars on their heads with great ease, one is reminded of Rebecca in Genesis. Just as the menfolk gather at the village store to exchange gossip, the women relate their experiences of the day at the watering place.

Most of the villages were only slightly affected by the war which tore through them with blitzkrieg suddenness. Here and there one sees a few bullet holes or a destroyed building, but the lives and property of the Arabs who did not flee are still intact. Each day the fellahin go out to their barley and wheat fields, their olive groves and vegetable gardens. Most of these groves and fields are a cemetery of rocks and boulders with brown roots and crotchety olive trees growing haphazardly among the ancient stones—ten thousand-year-old relics of erosion and wasting away of a once fertile countryside. The brown roots and the crotchety trees are the fellahin's entire crop.

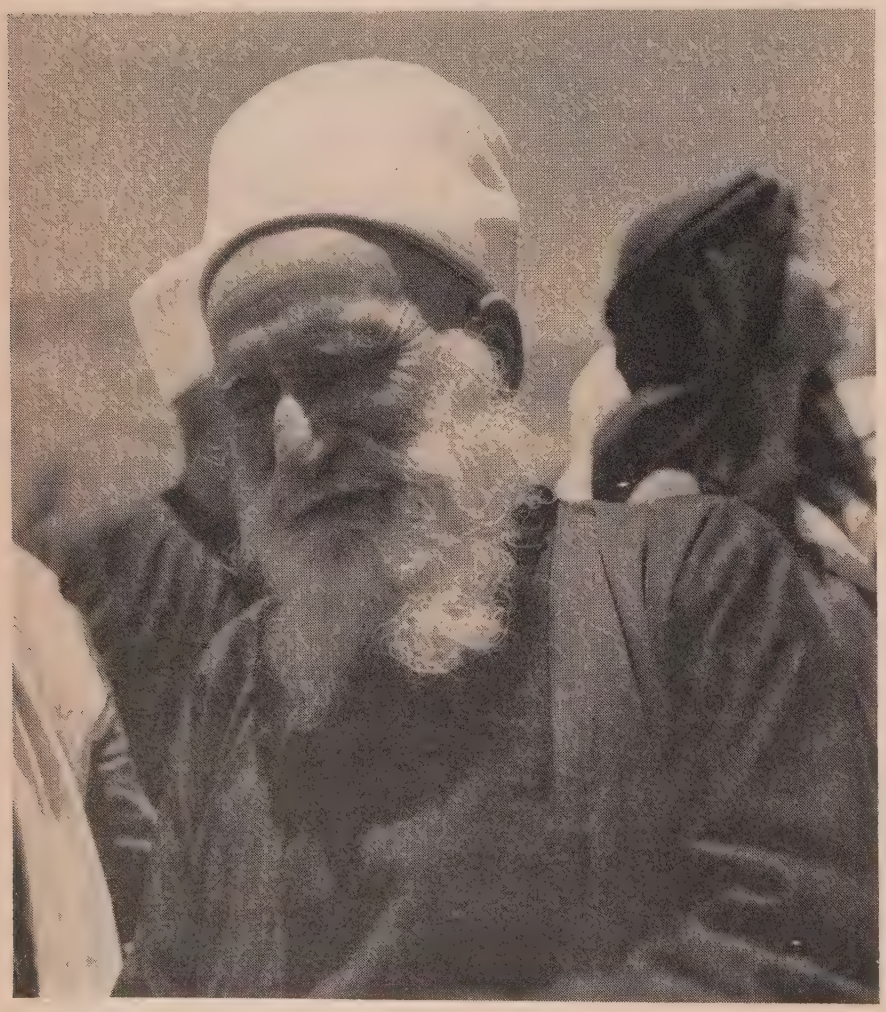
At evening the fellah returns from his fields with his long, phallic-like, wooden plow slung over his shoulder. Then one realizes that through a thousand years of Turkish and a third of a century of British rule, life has continued at an unchanging tempo. A precipitous change is unlikely under the government of Israel.

An old sheikh who never studied political science evaluated the three successive regimes for me. "To us it makes no difference where our laws come from: Constantinople, London or Tel Aviv. It's all the same. What's important is that the fewer laws there are, the better."

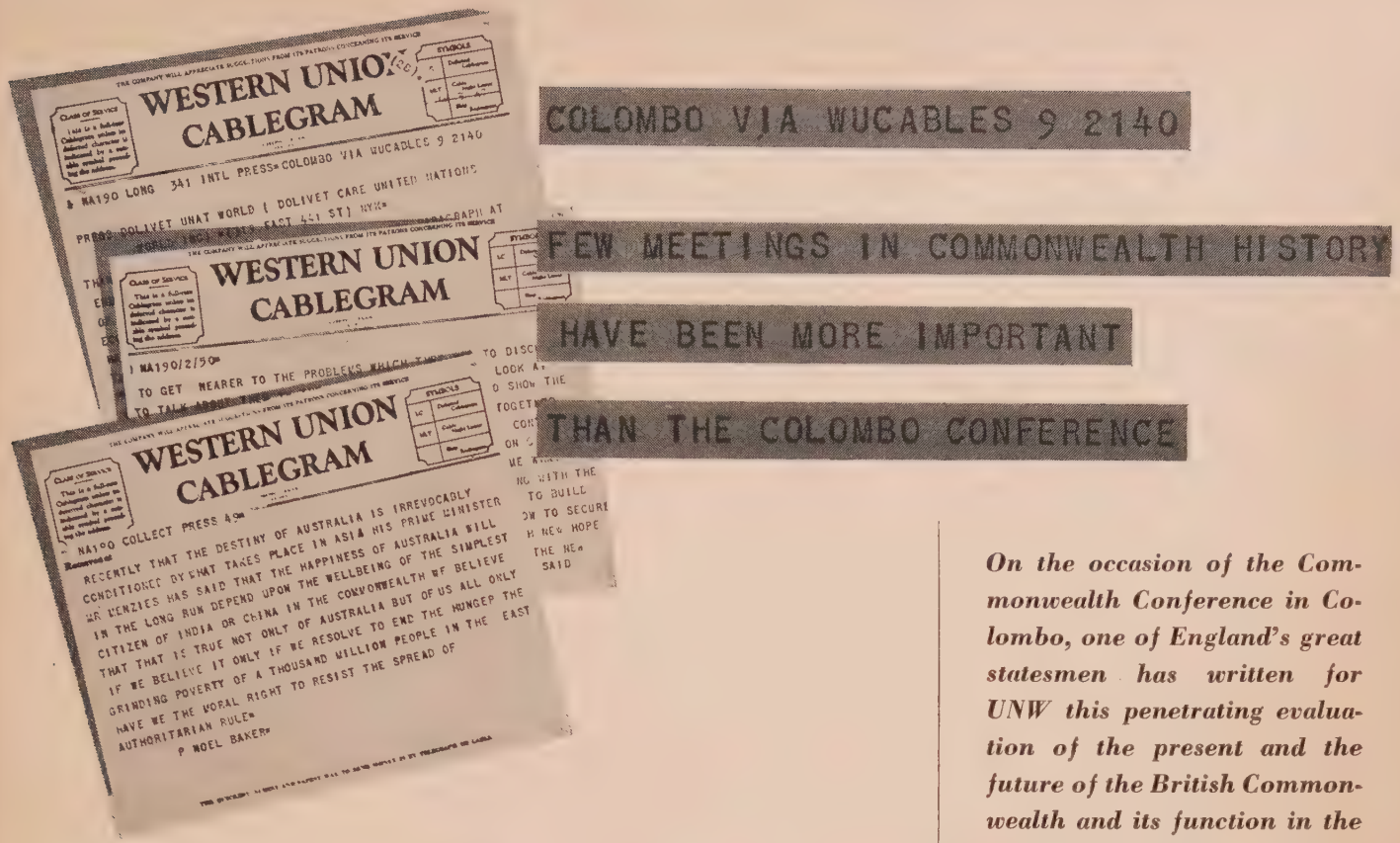
Many of Western Galilee's abandoned but intact Arab villages have been occupied by settlers from Eastern Europe. New languages are infiltrating the area. Conversations in Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Polish can be overheard, as thousands of new Jewish immigrants are being sent to revive the dead Arab villages. In a school where a year or two ago Arabic alone was heard, Hebrew is now the language of instruction while the students speak a dozen European languages among themselves. Tractors, rather than donkeys, are now pulling steel, and not wooden plows through the fields. There is a fervor of road-building and village reconstruction sweeping through Western Galilee.

The Arabs of Majd el-Kurum look in astonishment at their new Slavic neighbors. A thousand years of Turkish and thirty years of British rule did not change the Arabs.

Who knows what living with Slavic neighbors will bring?



OWL-BEAKED Sheikh Tarrif is the religious leader of Israel's Druses whose faith borrows from the teachings of both the Old and New Testaments as well as the Koran.



On the occasion of the Commonwealth Conference in Colombo, one of England's great statesmen has written for UNW this penetrating evaluation of the present and the future of the British Commonwealth and its function in the twentieth century world.

Report On The Commonwealth

By PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, M. P.

Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations

WHAT we call our civilization is a common heritage, in which all nations share. Ancient Greece left us the Acropolis and it left us poetry, the theatre, philosophy, the idea of freedom, the idea that men should rule themselves. Rome unified the Continent of Europe and the Middle East. It gave them peace and law and roads. It taught them that the public interest should reign supreme. Palestine gave us the Christian faith.

What will the historians of the future judge to be the contribution of the nations of the British Commonwealth to the progress of mankind? Much, I think, in the realms of learning; literature, art, science, medicine, engineering, exploration, adventure of every kind. But, above all else, four great principles which they have made the basis of their social system and of their national life.

First: They have established in their countries, on an unshakeable foundation, the personal liberty of every subject of the king. A great Italian scholar, Benedetto Croce, once said, while Mussolini was still in power, that the whole of human history is the story of man's struggle to be free. The Assembly of the United Nations is still carrying on that struggle with its Declaration of Human Rights. But the first great declaration of Human Rights was Magna Carta, signed by King John at Runnymede seven centuries ago.

Second: They evolved the practical technique of government of the people by the people. In Britain, we fought our civil wars for the principle that only the elected representatives of the people could impose taxation; we fought them for a parliament which asserted this principle against an autocratic king; that, perhaps, is why we have the strongest, the most beloved, and the most useful of all monarchies today.

Third: They have shown that Empire can be transformed into a Commonwealth by agreement, and not by revolution. As Mr. Pearson, Secretary

of State for External Affairs in the Canadian Government, has said, Canada won her full sovereign independence fighting *with*, and not against, Great Britain.

Fourth: They have shown that the winning of sovereign independence by new nations need not lead to bitterness, to separation or to conflict. No group of nations in history have ever lived in such close friendship as ours; the very idea of war has long been banished from our minds; our nations know that their vital interests are not in conflict, but are common interests which they all share.

Struggle for Freedom

These four principles are of particular importance in world affairs of today. But they are not the achievement of the present generation only. They are the result of the struggle of the British peoples over long centuries for freedom. It was in Barbados in 1649 that British settlers overseas first asserted the right to rule themselves. It was in 1838 that Lord Durham recommended that self-government should be granted to Canada.

Nearly everyone believed that in the end self-government would lead to separation. One of the most eminent of the nineteenth-century officials in the Colonial Office said that he could hardly imagine that anyone could doubt that the destiny of the Colonies was independence: meaning that they would become separate foreign states. As a result, self-government was feared, and, indeed, resisted, by many people. That was especially true when the leaders of the overseas countries began to ask for a share in the control of international affairs.

It was only in 1919, after Canada and the other Dominions had fought *with* Britain, that their statesmen signed the Treaty of Versailles as separate parties, and were admitted as separate members to the League of Nations. The Dominions had achieved their nationhood. With the United Kingdom, they had become what the Balfour Declaration in 1926 described as "a group of autonomous communities, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as the British Commonwealth of Nations."

We can see now how wholly wrong were those who feared the progress of self-government in the countries overseas. Self-government, full equality and independence did not mean separation. Each step forward made new bonds. Some people thought that this would be no longer true when the Indian parliament decided to make India a Republic; they thought that this change would bring disruption, or that the Commonwealth would be profoundly changed. India has become a Republic, since her people so desired. But India remains a partner in the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is now far stronger than ever before. Its four principles mean more than ever in the life of its nations and in world affairs.

Human rights are one of the great questions of the day. To the rest of the world, both in East and West, the living example of personal freedom in the Commonwealth countries is of immense importance. And in the Commonwealth countries personal freedom is being given, year by year, a wider significance. They are showing that it must mean, not political liberty only, but economic and social liberty as well. They lead the world in social legislation to free their peoples from the scourges of poverty, hunger and the slums.

The technique of representative parliamentary government is continually advancing. All sections of the Commonwealth peoples are playing an ever greater part in government, and are progressively equipped for the responsibilities they must share.

The transformation from Empire into Commonwealth has gone forward with growing speed. In 1914 only 10 per cent of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth—the forty million in the United Kingdom—were fully self-governing in every aspect of their domestic and their external affairs. Today, ninety per cent — nearly five hundred million—have achieved full nationhood.

All this is of vast, though often unseen, significance in world affairs.

The greatest danger to mankind in the second half of the twentieth century may lie in the risk of conflict between Asia and the West. The transformation from Empire to Commonwealth, the "Transfer of power" to India, to Pakistan, and to Ceylon, may have done much to mitigate that risk. Viewed in true historical perspective, Indonesia may be the most important question which the United Nations has had to deal with, and its greatest success. The Indonesian settlement owes much to the Security Council, and to the statesmanship of both the parties; it owes much also to Commonwealth experience and example.

Commonwealth and Atom

Unless Atomic Energy can be effectively controlled, our civilization may prove to be as fissionable as uranium itself. It is not an accident that in November 1945 the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Canada proposed to President Truman that the problem of Atomic Energy Control should be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly and that a special Commission should be set up. Throughout our long discussions, the Commonwealth nations have all urged the necessity of the fullest democratic control over all Atomic Energy production by an International Authority. They have urged that this Authority must publish its reports, and be accountable to the Assembly; and that, if this involves the surrender of "sovereign rights," then sovereign rights must go.

We must have economic security as well. We must raise the living standards of the less developed nations; we must utilize their untapped natural resources; we must abolish preventable poverty, ignorance and hunger. All this may mean subordinating sovereign rights to human welfare; it must mean the integration of national interests with the wider interests of

mankind. In all these ways, the experience of the Commonwealth in recent years has been outstanding.

The Commonwealth countries are the backbone of the Sterling Area. The Sterling Area links six hundred million people and is the greatest multilateral trading area in the world. The Sterling Area only works by mutual concession and adjustment; by the voluntary subordination of sovereign rights to common welfare; by integrating national interests with the wider interests of the whole.

For this great purpose of promoting economic security, few meetings in Commonwealth history have been more important than the Colombo Conference. Not the least important thing about it is that it has been held in Ceylon. In going there, ministers from the other Commonwealth countries wanted to do honor to Ceylon, the newest nation in the Commonwealth to gain self-government and independence.

But that was not their only reason. They wanted also to get nearer to the problems which they had to discuss; to talk about them in the atmosphere of Asia; to look at them through the eyes of Asia. And they wanted to show the world how the Commonwealth binds East and West together, how its partnership links free nations in all the continents in perfect equality and friendship for their common good.

They talked, of course, of many subjects, but all the time—whatever the item on the agenda—they felt this to be dealing with the fundamental issues of peace and human welfare: how to build up a peaceful order; how to strengthen democracy; how to secure the cooperation between Asia and the West by which new hope can be brought to the toiling masses of the East.

The new Australian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Spender, said recently that the destiny of Australia is irrevocably conditioned by what takes place in Asia. His Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, has said that the happiness of Australia will in the long run depend upon the well-being of the simplest citizen of India or China. In the Commonwealth, we believe that is true not only of Australia but of us all. Only if we believe it, only if we resolve to end the hunger, the grinding poverty, of a thousand million people in the East, have we the moral right to resist the spread of authoritarian rule.

Some people say that the formal ties, the legal bonds, of the Commonwealth have been relaxed to vanishing point. And, indeed, it has no written constitution; it has no elaborate machinery; not even an established secretarial staff. But none who knows its working doubts that it *is* stronger, more closely knit, than ever before. The consultation among its Governments is more continuous, more comprehensive; there has been nothing in history like the economic collaboration and mutual assistance of its members in recent years; above all, the minds of its peoples have been drawn together.

Of course, the Commonwealth cannot serve as a model for the international organization of the world—the community of nations needs more elaborate institutions and written rules. No Commonwealth nation believes that the Commonwealth is its sole salvation; that it should seek to isolate itself from world affairs. All are active members of the United Nations, and all believe that the law of the Charter is a powerful link, not only between them and other nations, but between themselves. But they believe also that the fact of their membership of the Commonwealth enables them to play a more fruitful part in the United Nations, and in world affairs. "Dominion status," said the Prime Minister of New Zealand, "is not independence with something taken away; it is independence with something added."

As other nations achieve that "something added," as they accept the four principles of the Commonwealth, so, we believe, will the institutions of the United Nations work more smoothly, and its Charter become accepted and effective law.

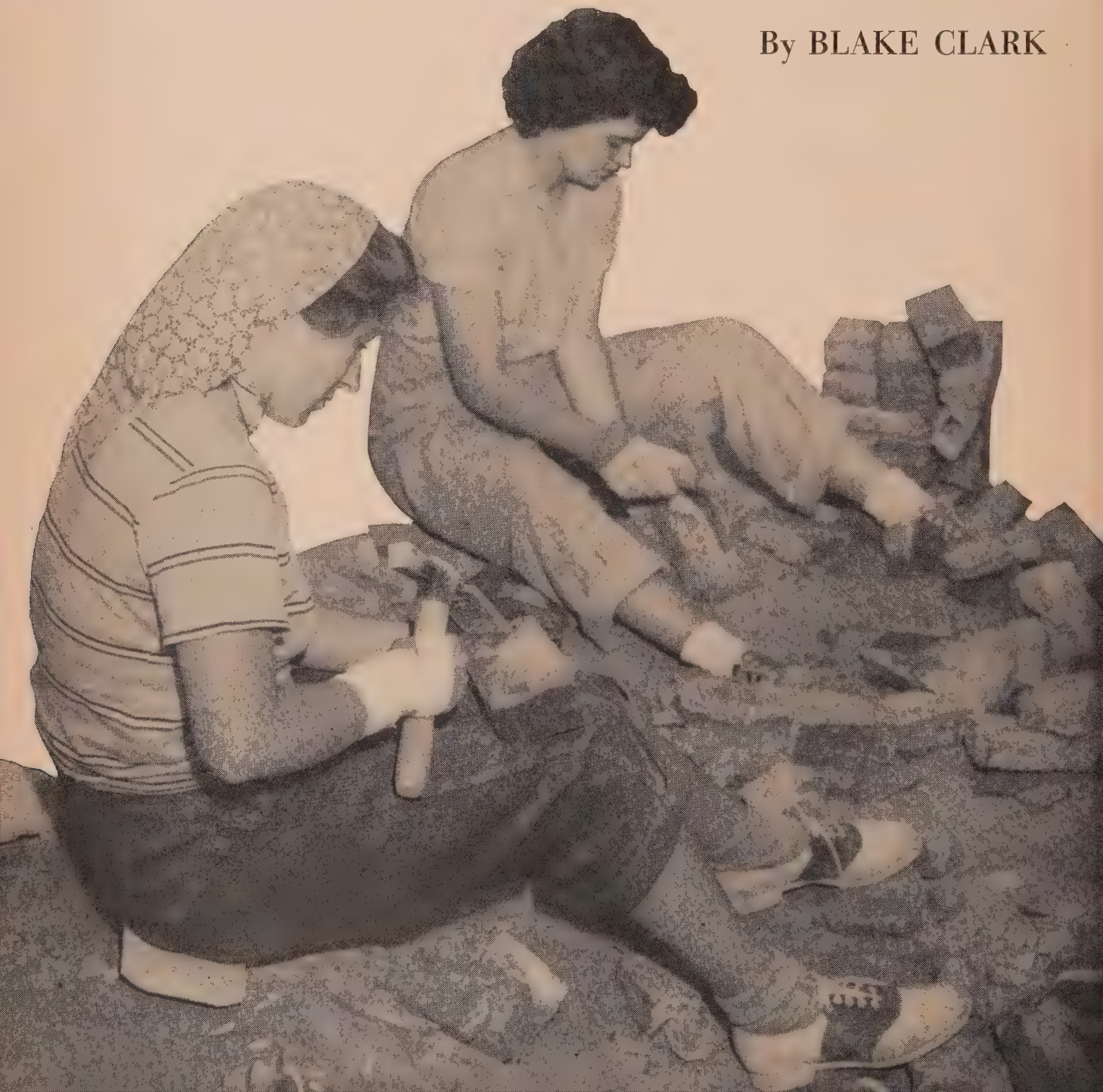
The British Commonwealth, *whose decline was prematurely proclaimed by many, still comprises 22.2% of the world's area and 25% of the world's population. It accounts for nearly one-third of total world imports and nearly 30% of the world's exports. The components of the Commonwealth are:*

	Area (Sq. miles)	Population
I. Sovereign States		
United Kingdom	94,291	50,015,000
Canada	3,510,882	12,903,100
Australia	2,977,600	7,580,800
New Zealand	103,935	1,802,640
Union of South Africa	472,550	11,391,950
India	628,838	231,400,000
Pakistan	236,638	69,000,000
Ceylon	25,000	6,660,000
Southern Rhodesia	150,333	1,764,000
II. Territories Administered through the Commonwealth Relations Office, and Dependencies of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.	793,861	2,408,090
III. British Dependent Territories Administered Through the Colonial Office.	1,914,395	61,040,254
IV. Condominiums (administered through the Foreign Office).	973,200	6,638,900
Total	11,881,493	462,604,734

Combining action with philosophy, international work campers help rebuild this war-ravaged world, physically as well as morally.

Pick-and-Shovel Peacemakers

By BLAKE CLARK



TEEN-AGE BRICKLAYERS. McCann, 14, and Medhurst, 16, are big enough to help build one of the tens of thousands of homes which are needed in war-torn Britain.

LAST SUMMER more than 40,000 purposeful men and women, instead of "taking" a vacation, gave one. These volunteers, under the banner of *Service Civil International* and other voluntary service groups, used their holidays to help the people of towns and cities that still suffer from the wounds of war. Students and professional and working people of more than 20 nations, these volunteers set up work camps and cleared away rubble, repaired roads, rebuilt bridges, and constructed homes, schools, playgrounds, parks. Fit and tanned after six to eight weeks' hard work, they returned home enriched by new friendships, by the heartfelt gratitude of their foreign neighbors, and by a vigorous faith in the ability of the individual to influence the world.

Fifty-three went to Hühnerfeld, a little coal-mining town in the Saar. Here not a house had been built in two decades; under Hitler, all building materials had gone into bunkers and barracks. Many families crowded five to a room in dilapidated shacks.

Father Peter Theis, a genial giant with an amateur knowledge of architecture, had led his miners in setting up a self-help association. Each gave what money he could for materials and worked an hour or two after coming up from the mines. Finished houses were assigned according to the amount of money and work-hours contributed and the size of the families needing shelter.

Girls as well as boys of 13 different nationalities came to assist these Hühnerfeld miners as unskilled laborers. They dug foundations, poured concrete, cut beams and hauled lumber from the sawmill a mile and a quarter distant. On the job punctually at seven each morning, they put in a full eight-hour day despite aching arms and blistered palms.

FOR two months these campers worked on the bases and first floors of 13 new houses. Swinging picks side by side with the miners, taking Sunday dinner in their humble homes, going down into the pits with them to see how they worked, caring for their wives and children when they were sick, they became closer friends than any had imagined possible in such a short time. "When they left," says Father Theis simply, "my people wept."

One hundred and sixty campers went 80 at a time to Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France, in the pine-covered foothills of the Massif Central. Their job was to continue work on the Collège Cevenol, constructed almost entirely by volunteers in the preceding four summers. Awakened every morning at 5:30 by the banging of an aluminum pan outside their tents, they dug a 1,000-yard sewer ditch four feet deep in stony soil, and resurfaced the quarter-mile road to the college, digging out loose rock from the woods, breaking it up with sledge hammers, spreading it on the road bed. They transported thousands of tons of earth left from the excavation of two storage cellars and a garage and with it filled a deep gully which defaced the beauty of the 21-acre meadowland campus. The gully will now be tennis courts. As Protestants helped the Catholic community in Hühnerfeld, Catholics and Jews as well as Quakers, Presbyterians and other Protestants worked together on the job here.

While on the long-term job, the volunteers have done relief work among the refugee children. Danish Eric Gottfredson, for example, knew how to repair shoes. Setting up shop in the local school, he made new soles with leather given by the Quakers. He also opened an exchange center where the youngsters could swap pairs they had outgrown.

Disaster called volunteers to Prüm, Germany, a town of 2,600. On July 15, 1949, the people of Prüm saw smoke rising from a large concrete pillbox, once part of Hitler's Westwall, situated on a hill dominating the town. They knew French occupation authorities had stored ammunition and explosives there. They rushed to the woods for refuge. Then came a terrific explosion. Thousands of tons of rock and clay spurted skyward, then gushed down the hillside. In two minutes 35 per cent of the population had lost their homes.

Immediately, 10 campers offered their services to the emergency reconstruction committee. By October 1, when I visited Prüm, the volunteers had worked eight weeks and supplied about half the unskilled labor necessary to erect houses for the dispossessed. They were busy on the walls of a new place for Johann Hillen, a woodcutter whose home near the top of the hill had been entirely buried. Eighteen-year-old Anne Dethier, from Brussels, was sifting lime. Carola Arnstein, broad-shouldered, slim-waisted graduate of the University of California, was hoisting concrete blocks to Eric Adams, a Londoner, and to Finnish, Swiss, and other workers atop the five-foot wall. Several volunteers planned to stay on through the winter.

PEACE-WOUND. With a bandaged hand, Jean West, an Ohio girl, polishes sorely needed bricks in Hamburg. At right a German student, Hannelore Wiehe, helps.

Pick-and-Shovel Peacemakers *continued*

"They give courage to us poor people," said Hillen. "After a disaster like this I don't know what I'd have done without them."

Karl-Heinz Witzsche, a Prüm newspaperman, told me, "One American volunteer impresses me more than ten American tanks we see rumbling through here on maneuvers."

A Great Idealist

Such a statement would gladden the heart of Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss, to whom goes chief credit for the international volunteer work groups. A civil engineer with wide experience in Europe, the United States and Japan, Ceresole devoted almost his entire career from 1935 until his death in 1945 to *Service Civil International,* a non-governmental, non-profit organization which he founded in 1920 to promote understanding between peoples. Recruiting peace brigades from all countries, he led them in urgent jobs of reconstruction which did not compete with local labor. These brigades did relief work among the Spanish refugees in France in the late '30s, helped farmers in wartime Britain, and in 1944 were among the first to extend a helping hand to the Greeks.

The movement is now gaining significant impetus. In the wake of World War II many young people of all nationalities are seeking a philosophy that combines ideals with action. They find it in the work camps. Last summer 29 different voluntary services and church groups organized 180 camps, *Service Civil International* being responsible for the largest number. The internationally composed teams worked amid the ruins of Hiroshima, cared for the homeless in Greece, built roads and sewers in Algeria, and harvested crops for the coöperative communities of Israel. Next summer they will enter India and possibly Ecuador. Officials of UNESCO now help the various sponsors to coordinate activities and also publicize their work.

VOLUNTEERS usually pay their own transportation expenses to and from the camp, and a small amount for board and lodging while there. Americans are given a few days' orientation in New York, then sail abroad third class or fly by Youth Argosy, a non-profit organization providing students a round trip to Europe for $340. Many Europeans reach camps on the Continent by bicycle, stopping at youth hostels en route. Some hitchhike, and a few even walk. A number of Europeans come to America; there are at least 30 work camps and projects in Mexico and the US.

Although personnel changes every few weeks, the total number of workers at each camp generally stays between 20 and 30 all summer. Since they usually work in war-damaged areas, they accept primitive living conditions. They customarily sleep in tents, do their own housekeeping and cooking. Food is plain and often monotonous. One boy grew so tired of the sight of white mounds of mashed potatoes that for variety's sake he poured cake-frosting coloring into one batch and served it blue.

No one is advised to join a group expecting a lark. The work is laborious, whether it is carrying a heavy hod or developing "strawberry bends" in the fruit fields. Dorothea Woods, a honey-haired Pennsylvania girl studying at the Sorbonne for a PhD in comparative literature, was one of 17 volunteers in Lapland who made 15,000 pine shingles by hand. "It was eight hours a day for a month; then we cut it to seven before we dropped dead," she said.

"I wouldn't do that if I was *paid* for it," an onlooker commented to a work camper struggling to lift a heavy stone. "Neither would I," the volunteer replied quietly.

Camp evenings are devoted to reading books (many are provided by UNESCO), writing letters, massaging sore muscles, or singing and improvising skits. The spirit of the place is predominantly one of camaraderie, although romance occasionally flourishes. The campers teach each other favorite folk songs and usually once during the season prepare an international festival of music and folk dances for the villagers. At Chambon, the fête was made a benefit performance, resulting in 13,000 francs to buy food and clothes for the needy of the community.

A Noble Example

Veteran work campers often start projects on their own. Jupp Kiehm, 27-year-old former student at Bremen Teachers' College, is responsible for getting volunteer workers to build up his city's playground facilities. He got his idea after working at a camp in Denmark, persuaded the members of Bremen's municipal council to feed any workers he could recruit and to bed them in a former Hitler youth hostel.

Jupp wrote to his Danish friends, to the Quakers and other organizations describing his project and asking for helpers. That summer, 1948, 35 foreigners, mostly Danes and Swedes, showed up. Together with an equal number of Germans, they cleared great heaps of rubbish from the site of a bomb-demolished restaurant, filled in bomb craters and erected swings, a jungle-gym, sand piles, and a carrousel—to the joy of hundreds of tots cheated of the delights of childhood by war. The job was such a success that last summer more volunteers helped establish playgrounds in four other sectors of the city.

Göttingen has also benefited from the initiative of Eberhard Peters and Hans Temme, two of its university students who had attended work camps. One day last spring these two young men came upon six refugees—they had once streamed in from the East at the rate of 3,000 a day—clearing floor space in the dirt on the city's outskirts. Receiving small plots of ground in a municipal housing development, these men had taken up a collection in the neighborhood to buy materials. Each evening after their regular jobs as day laborers they patiently worked to build homes.

By vacation time the two students recruited 15 German boys and girls. They found lodging in a deserted barracks. To get money for the accident and insurance policies required by the state, five of the boys worked as ditch-diggers for the city and turned their wages over to the group. The

Landfrauenbund, an organization of peasant women, sent them potatoes and vegetables; a baker contributed fresh bread; they splurged occasionally by buying a piece of horsemeat from the butcher.

Foreign campers of some seven different nationalities joined them on August 1. While the refugees were at their jobs in town, the volunteers poured cement, laid bricks and worked hard to finish the houses before the November cold should set in. "I found my house a few feet higher every evening," said grateful refugee Max Metz. "I felt like the shoemaker in the fairy tale whose work was finished for him by the elves!"

International understanding, as solid as the structures they raise, is an important by-product of the work camps. "When you've pushed a spade with a fellow all day," said one camper, "you know you can talk to him that night." In sometimes heated discourses they thrash out every kind of question from the Atlantic Pact to the responsibility of the citizen in private life.

Daily experience, however, clears up more misconceptions than does talk. Two youths from occupied Berlin came to camp in France convinced that Americans were proud, selfish and rich, spending their vast incomes on cars, lipstick and chewing gum. "I did not think the American girls here would speak to us," said tall, blond Christof Mohr. "But the first morning two girls from the United States asked us our names, where we were from and how things were in Berlin. A week later, Phyllis washed and ironed a shirt for me."

GUNTHER OTTE said that before he came to the camp he could not believe that Americans were really donating goods to Europeans through the Marshall Plan. They were bound to be getting big money out of it. "But," he said, "when I saw these fellows and girls sweating in the hot sun, shoveling sand for no pay, 4,000 miles from home, I knew that some Americans want to give with no thought of gain."

Germans frequently come to camp with considerable apprehension. Uppermost in their minds are true atrocity stories of villages burned and inhabitants killed by SS men; they fear to encounter a natural resentment from their recent foes. Two German cousins who went to work at Kassel privately agreed that if it were too unpleasant they would say they had received an announcement of the death of their grandmother. But at Kassel, 79 per cent of which was destroyed in 20 minutes during a 1,000-plane raid, killing 12,000 people, they met Sidney Engel of Chicago. A former navigator-gunner for the 8th Air Force, he had participated in the attack. Now he had come to help them rebuild an orphanage destroyed during their holocaust. His wife, Jean, the most popular girl at camp, taught them the Virginia reel and southern spirituals. Their grandmother's health remained excellent, and they worked hard their full six weeks.

Perhaps the most extraordinary instance of a worker returning to make amends for wartime devastation is that of Harry Ree, English hero of the French underground and later a schoolteacher in Yorkshire. He took 20 of his students at Bradford Grammar School to Montbeliard in the Doubs area where he had worked with the Maquis. There they repaired bridges and industrial targets for whose destruction Ree had lit the fuse.

Workers in a well-run camp enjoy close, rewarding friendship with people of the surrounding community. As one US college boy said, "We *live* the internationalism we always talked about." Families of all classes seek the pleasure of the volunteers' company, school librarians lend them books, children bring them baskets of berries and flowers, and grateful recipients of their aid honor them at the *Richtfest*—roof-raisings.

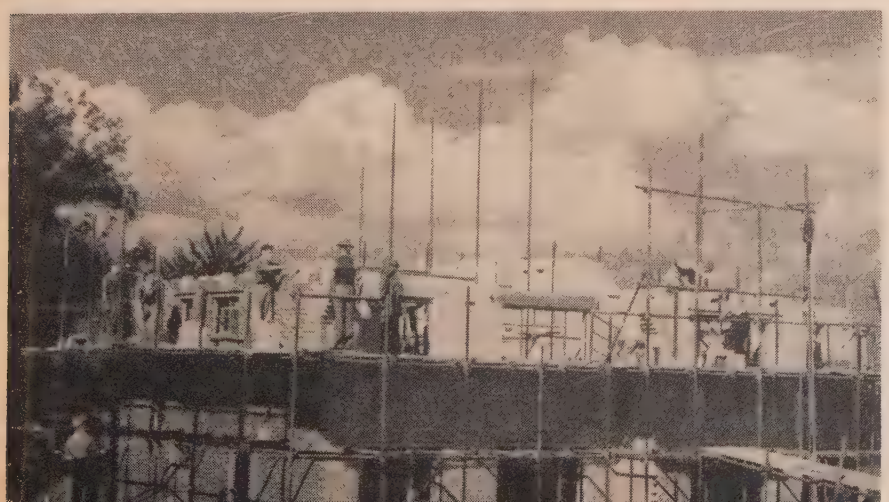
Before camps break up, workers exchange addresses and amateur photographers tack their best shots on the bulletin board to fulfill requests of scrapbook owners. On the final night when for the last time they join hands and sing "Auld Lang Syne" with friends they may never see again, every eye glistens with heartfelt tears.

Work campers do not deceive themselves that they are solving the great problems of East and West, peace and war. But they are helping melt layers of bitterness encrusting the hearts of many people, attempting to affirm that understanding and mutual aid between peoples are possible.

At Boussu-Bois, a Belgian mining town of 7,000, volunteers from 14 countries spent three summers moving 12,000 tons of cinders, earth and rubble, and planting acacias, to make a playground for children who had no recreation space. A miner came by the workers' campfire one cold evening to give the campers his only blanket; he could sleep in his clothes, he said. He paused a moment to read the sign, "*Service Civil International*," with its symbolic drawing of a broken sword and sturdy shovel shining through the word PAX. "I like that," he said. "I hope no one ever marches again."

Note: For information on work camps write: Reconstruction Dept., UNESCO, 19 Ave. Kléber, Paris.

SIX BOY CARPENTERS in Addington, Surrey, and seven apprentice bricklayers pulled up roof-high two houses in six months, as part of ambitious housing project.



UN'S OPERATION MIRACLE

IRO Transplants A Million Refugees

By J. DONALD KINGSLEY
Director General of IRO

Operating a fleet of thirty-six ships, using chartered planes and special trains, the International Refugee Organization has directed the greatest peacetime migration in the history of humanity. The $155,000,000 budget of this single UN Agency is more than all the money spent by all the rest of the United Nations.

THE International Refugee Organization—largest of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations—has entered upon the last phase of one of the greatest peacetime experiments ever conducted in international administration. Its accomplishments since July 1947 may have been overshadowed by conflicts of the "cold war," and public awareness of them may have been dulled by the impact of other peacetime problems on the consciousness of peoples everywhere. But I believe that when the history of this period is written, IRO will stand out as a great practical demonstration of international teamwork without the compulsion of war, and just possibly as a principal beacon along the road to world government. For IRO, almost alone among international organizations, has been engaged in the direct operation of a vast and complex program.

In two and a half years, IRO already has carried out a global movement of men, women and children on a scale

vastly greater than any previous mass migration in history, except in war. Already the organization has repatriated 67,087 refugees from limbo displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria and Italy, back to countries they left in fear or by compulsion from five to ten years ago. But—more spectacularly—it has moved 621,814 others, those who did not wish to return to their native lands, from these same camps to new homes and new opportunities in every part of the world.

In the process IRO has organized and operated one of the largest peacetime civilian fleets ever assembled, consisting today of thirty-six ships—at least one of which leaves Europe each day for ports in any one of eighty-one different countries and dependencies, from Australia to the Americas, from the China coast to the Horn.

IRO has organized and administered one of the largest peacetime housing programs in history, a complex, extensive educational program for both children and adults, a tremendous health sanitation program, and a system of logistics supply reaching into twenty-seven countries on five continents.

All this has been done in record time by a truly international staff recruited in forty different countries, speaking nearly all the world's languages, conditioned by all its cultures, yet working together here in Geneva and in IRO posts throughout the world with a degree of teamwork and devotion which would have been considered impossible a few short years ago.

This achievement might have been less were it not for what appears otherwise to be IRO's principal shortcoming —the fact that none of the Eastern bloc nations have participated in its administration. Certainly, while this has created some difficulties, it has also relieved IRO of many tensions and frustrations which arise today from the conflict between the East and the West. It must be recognized also tnat this largest of all international operations has by no means had the full support even of nations not associated with the "Eastern bloc." Although thirty members of the United Nations supported the IRO constitution in the General Assembly when it came to a vote in December 1946, only seven of the necessary fifteen had ratified the constitution by July 1, 1947, when the new organization was called upon to take over the refugee problem from the armies, UNRRA, and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees.

The program thus began on faith and a shoestring—faith that fourteen additional nations that had signed the charter *ad referendum* would ratify it, and a shoestring of financial commitments from the original seven, accounting for less than two-thirds its projected annual budget of $155,000,000. But the needs of men, women and children could not be deferred, and the Preparatory Commission, under the leadership of Arthur J. Altmeyer, transformed itself almost overnight into an operating agency. Thus the biggest joint operation ever conducted by the community of nations in peacetime had a most inauspicious beginning.

At first there were seven: Australia, China, Guatemala, Iceland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It was fourteen months before the additional eight ratifications required for the charter to come into full effect had been received, and only then that IRO could proceed with assurance as a full-fledged Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

NEVER TOO LATE TO BE HAPPY claims the expression of 60-year-old Joseph Wynnyk, a DP landing at New York.

Eventually the charter was ratified by three more nations, bringing the total membership to eighteen. They are the first seven listed above, plus Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, the Dominican Republic, France, Belgium, Venezuela, Luxembourg, Denmark, Italy, and Switzerland. These have carried the full financial and administrative burden, a fact which may appear at first glance to reduce the significance of the IRO experiment. Yet it seems to me it does exactly the opposite. If only eighteen nations, including both least and most powerful, can join hands to accomplish successfully a task of this magnitude, perhaps they have opened the door to achievements in the future of which we have scarcely dreamed. I firmly believe their contribution to the progress of mankind will be so recognized when many momentous but transient issues have been forgotten.

In order to comprehend the scope and complexity of this enterprise, it is necessary to examine IRO and its functions in more detail. At the end of World War II, Central Europe swarmed with some 8,000,000 displaced persons—Hitler's scrap heap of slave labor and racial and religious persecution. They became wards of the victorious armies and of UNRRA.

Most of these people, while they had suffered enormous crimes and their lot was miserable enough, nevertheless had homes to return to and wanted to return. They were given every possible assistance by their liberators. By train, by air and by roadways—by virtually every known means of transportation—approximately 7,000,000 made their way from the "No Man's Land" of Hitler's Reich, and picked up the war-shattered pieces of their lives in familiar surroundings. But more than 1,000,000 re-

PROMISE OF NEW LIFE among the ruins. Father, mother, son and baby inspect Mount Cassino where they are to resettle.

UN'S OPERATION MIRACLE

continued

J. DONALD KINGSLEY, author of this article, admires a Ukrainian baby at an IRO Staging Center in Germany.

mained — and there were others in smaller groups stranded in Asia and Africa. Most of these were former residents of the various countries of Eastern Europe—Soviet Russia, Poland, the Baltic states and the Balkans. For one reason or another they either feared to return or were denied admission to their homelands. They constituted the central core. It was this that the Perparatory Commission of IRO inherited on July 1, 1947.

The rehabilitation of these people was the most difficult refugee problem of modern times, and it was much more besides. For instance, IRO assumed the responsibility for the legal and political protection of approximately 1,600,000 displaced stateless persons throughout the world, both in and out of DP camps. It also took over the worldwide operations of an international tracing service which undertakes to find or establish the fate of many hundreds of thousands of individuals who disappeared during the war. But the heart of the problem was that great, shapeless, lost community of 1,000,000 souls who languished in Central Europe, most tragic survivors of war and political and religious persecution.

The problem could have been "solved" with ease had the Western Allies been willing arbitrarily to send these people back to the places of their origin, or had IRO engaged in forced repatriation. But to have done so would have been to reject Western traditions of religious and political freedom, and to deny the basic premise of Western civilization.

The idea was flatly rejected, and it was firmly established in the IRO constitution that *no* individual should be repatriated against his will. Repatriation remained the primary IRO objective, and was defined as such in the constitution, but it soon became evident that those who wished to return to their former homes had done so by the time IRO took up the task. Fortunately, not all of the 1,000,000 displaced persons were fully dependent on IRO for their daily needs. Some had assets of their own, some were able to support themselves in the local economies or through work for the occupation forces. But at the outset, IRO was called upon to provide complete maintenance—food, shelter and medical care—for 719,588 persons, a figure now reduced to slightly more than 360,000.

Simple arithmetic provides the answer, therefore, to the question I have heard so frequently: "Why is IRO's budget so large—several times larger, up to now, than the budgets of all the rest of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies combined?" The sum of $155,000.000—IRO's largest budget—provided approximately $215 for each individual in the DP camps at the start of the program. Even if all could have been spent for direct care and maintenance, it hardly would have supported these unhappy people in a state of luxury. Had they been concentrated in one place, in a city of their own, this might have been ample. But they were scattered far and wide over the greater part of the Continent, in approximately 700 major camps, assembly centers and other installations in Germany, Austria and Italy, and in many lesser establishments in Western Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Most of their food supplies had to be purchased in far distant places and transported by sea, rail and highway. Every

factor involved in the situation made the operation unusually difficult, complex, and expensive. Yet IRO managed to support these people, and actually improve their physical well-being with the expenditure of only $91 per year per person for food, clothing, shelter and medical care. This, it seems to me, is an outstanding administrative achievement, for which full credit belongs to my predecessor, Mr. William Hallam Tuck, and to a superb staff organization.

It was vital that such economies be achieved, for IRO's task was to solve the problem, not perpetuate it. With voluntary repatriation almost at an end, resettlement overseas remained the only satisfactory solution for the vast majority. It was also by far the most expensive solution. It was therefore necessary to organize and operate a large shipping fleet which cost IRO as much as a quarter of a million dollars a day. This would have been much higher had it not been for the generous terms on which the United States Army provided a large number of transports. Other ships were chartered wherever they could be found. In addition, very small children, the aged and infirm, often pregnant mothers, were flown to their new homes in IRO chartered planes. By October 1, 1949, a total of 284,523 refugees had been transported in IRO ships, 16,621 in IRO planes, 320,660 by other means—by individual passage paid for by IRO or the governments, or by train to Continental destinations.

Opening the World's Doors

For lack of space it is impossible here to relate the saga of the international appeals, negotiations and agreements which opened the doors of countries around the world, or to give credit to the magnificent efforts of dozens of voluntary organizations who freely cooperated, or to outline the massive and complicated machinery required to select individual refugees to fit widely different and sometimes restrictive conditions upon which these doors were opened.

Now we are entering on the final phase of that part of the refugee problem which IRO inherited. Today, in our DP camps, there are approximately 700,000 refugees for whom IRO is responsible. The organization is scheduled to cease operations at the end of March 1951.

I believe by the closing date we can raise the total number of displaced persons who have been resettled almost to the million mark. But to do so we must overcome many grave difficulties, particularly in solving problems of the so-called "hard core." This is a group of approximately 50,000 persons. Twenty thousand of these are chronically ill or so severely handicapped as to require continuing care in institutions. The IRO General Council appealed to all nations to examine their own possibilities of caring for some of these unfortunates, and I am in process of negotiating with many countries now, with a view to placing various groups of them in generous, sympathetic hands.

Several countries—Norway, Israel and France, to mention three—have already come forward with generous offers. Another 30,000 of the "hard core" are relatives of the severely handicapped. They have refused, of course, to accept opportunities for their own resettlement if it meant abandoning handicapped relatives to a highly uncertain fate in an unfriendly country.

Aside from these, there are approximately 100,000 refugees who, for one reason or another, have so far been passed over in mass migration programs even though they are healthy, productive individuals. Some have been left behind because of their training or vocation: few countries want immigrant doctors, musicians, artists, engineers, teachers, nurses or scientists. Some, though strong and vigorous, have lost out because of their age: few countries are looking for immigrants over forty-five. Some have too many children to meet the immigration selection standards; most countries are reluctant to take widows with small children, or families if there seem to be too many mouths for one breadwinner to feed. Yet these people are of good stock, intelligent, healthy, anxious to contribute to the new country if they only are given the opportunity.

The End Is Not Yet

In an effort to solve the problem, I have just dispatched five special representatives to many different countries around the world. Their task is to work out in consultation with government officials and representatives of the voluntary agencies, individual plans for solving these more difficult cases. Yet even if IRO is wholly successful in solving that segment of the refugee problem which is its special responsibility, a worldwide problem of great dimensions will remain. The refugees require international protection and representation, for they are by definition stateless. Some continuing protection is the least that must be given. This will be in the hands of a United Nations High Commissioner, as recently provided by the General Assembly of the United Nations upon recommendation of IRO's General Council.

How much further the community of nations will choose to go is uncertain: that will be a matter for the General Assembly at subsequent sessions to decide. But the size of the problem can be indicated merely by listing some components, each of which is pregnant with political and economic implications for the world. There are many millions—perhaps seven or eight millions—of refugees from Eastern Europe, persons of German ethnic origin who were expelled and thrown on the German economy under the terms of the Potsdam agreement. They are barred from assistance by IRO. There are approximately 700,000 Arab refugees, 50,000 or so Greek refugees, and no one knows how many refugees in Asia.

It would be foolhardy for me to suggest a blanket solution for all these problems. Even to outline the political, economic and humanitarian considerations involved would require far more space than is at my disposal here.

But I venture to suggest that whenever, in future, peace-loving nations choose to combine their efforts in a world enterprise, whether for economic or humanitarian reasons, they will find in the experience of IRO many useful guideposts to mark the way.

The DP:

New Gold For An Old Melting Pot

360,000 displaced men, women and children in some 700 camps in Europe are waiting anxiously the outcome of the Senate debate on H.R. 4567. This Bill removes unnecessary restrictions which prevent them from entering the US. The world is watching the direction in which America will move.

STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN—which is Memphis, Tenn., to the beaming Opilka family, fresh from German immigration camp.

By EMANUEL CELLER

Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives

AT A TIME when many smaller nations are proving their magnanimity and far-sightedness in dealing with the international refugee problem, the present Congress must determine whether the United States likewise will show at least as much humanity and responsibility to the world community.

The DP is more than a problem—he is an opportunity. For this much is certain: The fears and prejudices of a few Members of Congress which played so large a part in shaping the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 have proved groundless.

Recent data submitted to the Judiciary Committee by the Executive Departments of the Government, by the governors of the States, and by the voluntary relief agencies demonstrate indisputably that the entry of displaced persons has in no way adversely affected our country. On the contrary, the testimony is emphatic that displaced persons upon arrival in the United States have contributed greatly to the national welfare. They have been resettled in the forty-eight States and in the Possessions with a minimum of difficulty, and their integration into the various communities has been, in the main, highly successful.

Moreover, in those communities where it had been thought the introduction of displaced persons would meet with hostility, we find a growing demand for more. This is, of course, not surprising to any but the few who talked vociferously of displacements of Americans in housing and jobs and painted a picture of a threatening invasion of aliens. I say it is not surprising because in all my twenty-seven years of service in the United States Congress I have never experienced such overwhelming public approval as attached itself to a liberal Displaced Persons Program. It can be safely said that the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which provided for the entry of 205,000 displaced persons into the United States did not reflect the public sentiment which favored the entry of 400,000.

The present law contains restrictions and limitations which have proved detrimental to the entire program. The displaced persons programs of the other countries, with the exception of Israel, have been on the basis of mass "labor recruitment," with selection by the Governments of these countries. Only in the United States has the program been rigidly circumscribed by a law which includes restrictions, limitations, preferences, and priorities upon all displaced persons who seek entrance into our country.

It must be remembered that these special requirements are placed on top of all other requirements which our customary immigration law provides. We require individual assurances for jobs and housing which will not displace citizens. We give a 40 per cent preference to those of Baltic origin and a 30 per cent preference to agricultural workers. Yet nationals of the Baltic States and agricultural workers who arbitrarily receive 70 per cent of all visas comprise together less than 38 per cent of displaced persons in the camps. The Displaced Persons Commission is thus placed in an impossible position of having to withhold visas until nationals of Baltic States and agricultural workers are found to meet these percentages.

Factually, there are not enough of these two groups to meet the 40 per cent and 30 per cent categories. Yet those who have job and housing assurances who are neither Balts nor agricultural workers must sit back and wait. This has made the administration of the present law a most intricate and dismaying business.

In the early days of its operation under the 1948 Act, the Displaced Persons Commission tried religiously to adhere to the prescribed percentages. When it became obvious that this policy slowed down the progress of a two-year program of admission, the Commission informed the Congress in March 1949 that in order to comply with the requests of American sponsors filing assurances, it would temporarily pay less attention to the Baltic and agricultural percentages, in order to expedite the flow of displaced persons under the 1948 Act.

The fact that the House of Representatives, as far back at June 2, 1949, passed the Celler Bill eliminating the arbitrary and discriminatory preference percentages, constituted an encouragement for the Commission to continue this sound policy. A much faster and more expeditious flow of displaced persons to the United States ensued. Many of the camps in Europe were emptied; many of them were closed. Other countries such as Israel, Australia, and Canada, encouraged by the progress of our program, have greatly increased the number of DPs they have decided to admit.

But it is now obvious that the application of these unworkable restrictions is preventing the fulfillment of the intent of Congress. It may well be because of these percentage preferences that the pathetically low figure of 205,000 authorized entries will not be reached, with the result that the displaced persons problem will continue to be with us.

Even if there were a way found to make the Displaced Persons Act workable, there would still remain 180,000 displaced persons in Europe by the end of the year.

The solution is an obvious and simple one. The Celler Bill, which passed the House and is now awaiting action in our Senate, increases the number of eligible displaced persons to 339,000 and removes the unworkable percentage limitations.

The passage of the Celler Bill would insure a resettlement program fully complete except for the hard core of displaced persons who are disabled or sick. This hard core would then necessarily fall within a mercy program which some countries have already undertaken.

A Clean Record

The displaced persons received into the United States under the present law have created no additional housing problem. They have constituted only 1/300 of 1 per cent of the labor force; 25 per cent have been placed on farms, according to the statement of the Department of Agriculture. They have created no criminal problem, according to the statement of the Department of Justice; and their social integration has been excellent, according to the Federal Security Agency Administrator. The voluntary relief organizations, which have concerned themselves with their resettlement, report that not one of them has ever needed to be placed on relief rolls, nor has their resettlement been concentrated in already crowded cities.

The DPs have brought with them occupational skills which were short in supply, and thus often have rendered valuable service. Of those admitted under the Act approximately 25 per cent were under eighteen, 84 per cent under forty-five years of age. Those under sixteen attend school and therefore do not add to the labor force. Seventy-six per cent of the displaced persons were in family groups.

Questionnaires concerning the resettlement program were sent out by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to the appropriate executive departments, to the 48 Governors of the various States, to labor organizations, and to social welfare agencies. Twenty-seven Governors have already replied. Two-thirds of them state that they could use more displaced persons. Replies coming from the Midwest and Southern regions of the country have asked for more displaced persons with professional skills. The National Catholic Welfare Conference in its reply states:

"Of the total number of 40,592 displaced persons sponsored through War Relief Services of NCWC, not one person is either receiving relief or is unemployed. Opportunities for more displaced persons come into this office at the rate of about 700 a week; the program's success may be judged by the continuous stream of new assurances for displaced persons."

The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society states:

"The new arrivals apparently have adjusted themselves because, to our knowledge, no DPs have had to turn to welfare authorities for financial aid. Socially, they have been law-abiding—none has thus far run afoul of the law; many have become leaders of religious congregations; some have entered the artistic fields; and still others have excelled in scientific studies. The DP, generally speaking, is a conscientious, reverent and energetic person, who wants to make good and is willing to start at the bottom."

The Displaced Persons Commission in its report to Congress reaffirms these facts. Yet because applications filed by sponsors exceed the number permitted by the present law, it has advised the voluntary agencies to decrease the rate of acceptance of sponsorships.

We can safely conclude that Americans are both able and eager to take in many more displaced persons than the present law permits, and that they will insist that legislation to this effect be passed.

Three Freedoms For Women

By LAURA VITRAY

The day is long past when suffragettes were fighting merely for votes. Today women fight for a complete re-evaluation of their place in society, and the United Nations spearheads their advance, says Lakshmi Nandan Menon, of India's Malabar coast, where woman has always been the equal of man.

American suffragettes parading down Fifth Avenue in 1917, are just crossing Forty-second Street. Such demonstrations were nationwide.

ALONG the southwest coast of India lies the region of Malabar, with the Arabian Sea before it and behind it the formidable ranges of the Western Ghats. It is a wild country of ravines, forests and jungles, with a shelving of rice lands and a shore that the waves have gnawed into a thousand harbors. Here matriarchy rules, and from time immemorial, woman has been regarded as the equal of man.

Don't imagine that the men of Malabar are weaklings. Most of them are a rough, tough fighting breed—the Nairs—born by caste to be soldiers and sailors. For centuries marriage was forbidden to them. To circumvent the ban, the Nair woman was married ritually to a stranger she never saw again. After that she was united to her real spouse in a simple home ceremony known as the *sanbadham*. It had no official status, and the wife remained her own mistress, the head of her house, with children who took their name from her. In 1896 the *sanbadham* was legalized. But the independence and equality of Malabar's women has never been placed in doubt.

From Malabar comes the beautiful Mrs. Lakshmi Nandan Menon. She has her office at Lake Success, where she is director of the United Nations Secretariat's Division on the Status of Women. It is significant that she finds American women not yet fully emancipated, despite the fact that they have the vote. And she thinks

there is still a long way to go before women enjoy full equality with men throughout the world.

Did we say beautiful? Mrs. Menon might prefer to be called intelligent. She is young, but thoughtful, with that profound insight and farsightedness that are characteristic of the best brains of ancient and modern India. "Sometimes," she says, "I hear men of the West exclaim about the frail grace of Indian women. But we all are what life and environment make of us. If women worked beside men they would be sturdy as men. Frailty so often is the badge of the socially depressed!"

Perhaps you wonder why the United Nations should concern itself with woman's lot. There are several reasons. The Charter affirms faith in the "equal rights of men and women." Also, through it, the nations express their purpose of promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The Declaration of Human Rights asserts the inherent dignity of all members of the human family. Behind this is a wisdom born in holocaust. We have learned in our time that prejudice is of one piece, that to tolerate unfair treatment of any group is to keep discrimination alive.

Mrs. Menon's Division serves the Commission on the Status of Women that was set up by the UN Economic and Social Council. Its worldwide studies are aimed at removing the barriers to women's freedom everywhere.

Three Kinds of Equality

"Justice for women is threefold," says Mrs. Menon. It means social and economic, as well as political equality with men. Social equality is the most important—even more so than the vote. For it signifies the way women are *thought about* in society, the way they think about themselves.

"Sometimes women have been shocked when I have suggested that they must fight the idea of the family as their special sphere. But a real home is a cooperative enterprise. Women must *have* the babies—but that doesn't mean they should do the whole job of caring for them."

She thinks indoctrination of girls with the notion that they are lesser beings begins in many countries almost at birth. They are dressed differently, given a different sort of toys. Often the girl-child is made to feel that her parents regret her sex, see in her only a financial liability. This has been true all over the Far East, including Mrs. Menon's native India—at least beyond the mountain wall of Malabar. Most Indian women who, up to the present, have served in the north as teachers or doctors, come from the 145-mile stretch of seacoast below the Ghats. But things are moving fast in Asia today, everywhere, and the hungering cry for opportunity springs as clearly from women's lips as it does from men's.

The tragedies resulting from partition of India and Pakistan have literally ended the seclusion of Hindu women and the wearing of the veil, she reports. It has been a period when millions of families were on the move, migrating from Hindu and Moslem areas. The overwhelming necessity just to keep alive has caused age-old traditions and customs to be scuttled overnight. Mothers tore off their veils and went foraging for food and scouting for shelter for their young. Girls accepted employment at anything they could get. In the cities they are working as bus conductors and waitresses, at all sorts of jobs—and little girls of ten are wearing slacks. Social change has come, not as slow evolution, but like an atomic bomb, dissolving all that was there before.

Social change must always originate within national boundaries, Mrs. Menon observes. The United Nations cannot reach a long arm into those countries where women are still a subservient, underprivileged, even despised class, and lift them up. What it can do is mobilize international opinion: the opinion of men and of governments, of women themselves. It can help women know themselves as full-fledged, equal individuals, worthy of the same education, the same outlets for their capabilities—in or outside the home as they may choose.

Mrs. Menon's own experience has been fortunate. Her father was a university professor. He was left a widower when she was six, but he took a delight in her upbringing. They traveled at times, and she recalls how, in her teens, she was stricken with dread that women were less intelligent. The idea was easy to come by in India, where education is not free above the grammar grades, and few girls are allowed to go beyond. Most family sacrifices are made only for the boys. Then, while she was a freshman at college, a male cousin her own age failed in studies in which she was doing well. It occurred to young Lakshmi that she had no reason to doubt herself, or other women. Out of the incident was born a desire to see all women receive the education that is basic to their social equality with men.

Revolt in the West

Thus the free-born daughter of Malabar became part of the great spiritual protest women of the West

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon is director of UN Secretariat's Division on Status of Women.

had begun to raise more than a century ago, against the mass of restrictions and discriminations laid upon them by unwritten law, with its origins in ancient customs and in the feudal system. In this community law, and on the statute books, they had everywhere suffered an almost total "black-out." The married woman in particular was regarded in many lands as renouncing all separate identity.

Vive la Revolution!

Modern woman's urge for justice and equality may have found its earliest impetus in the liberating atmosphere of the French Revolution —for in 1789 in France, a tentative "Declaration of Equal Rights" was drawn up. In the intervening century and a half, though French women lacked the franchise, they marked important social and economic gains. They were accepted on equal terms with men in a wide range of professions. And the French succeeded in establishing a uniquely close psychological partnership of men and women, as opposed to the sex antagonisms and rivalries that elsewhere have often blocked progress.

Yet it was only in 1944 that the French Provisional Government at Algiers issued an Ordinance according men and women equal voting rights. The new French Constitution of 1946 spells out the principle that "the law guarantees to women rights equal to men *in all spheres.*" That means social and economic as well as political guarantees.

It is in the social and economic fields that Mrs. Menon believes there is still progress to be made in the United States. Discriminatory laws exist in many of the states, some written into statute, others deriving from the medieval common law of England, France or Spain, perpetuated by rulings and interpretations of American courts. The multiplicity of such laws, and their variance by states, contributes to the difficulty of repealing them one by one. For, as one great lawyer said: "What is the law? is a question that cannot be answered except with fifty tongues speaking at once. What the law is in Illinois may well be not the law in Massachusetts or California."

Recently, at the request of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, the Women's Bureau of the US Labor Department undertook to survey and summarize the legal discriminations against women. The findings reveal that:

Ten states and three territories have not yet removed the ancient English common-law "defect of sex" which bars women from all jury duty. They are Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, Canal Zone, Hawaii, and Porto Rico. Three others — Florida, Massachusetts and Wyoming—admitted women to jury duty only in 1949. (In Britain, the Sex Disqualification Removal Act wiped out such discrimination in 1919.)

Only thirty-four states give the mother equal custody with the father over their children during a marriage. *Fourteen states* and the District of Columbia give the father complete authority over his minor child's person, services and earnings. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Vermont, Virginia, Wyoming.

Four states have no legal procedure for establishing paternity or requiring the father to contribute to the support of a child born out of wedlock. They are Idaho, Missouri, Texas and Virginia.

In all states the married woman's private domicile depends on that of her husband. His objectives are regarded as paramount and she is expected to follow his changes of residence regardless of her own career.

Three states restrict the power of a married woman to make enforceable contracts. They are Louisiana, Nebraska and Texas.

Eight states do not ordinarily empower the wife to contract alone concerning the marital property, though the husband has extensive powers of sole contract. They are Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Washington.

Five states require the husband's signature to give validity to the wife's deed conveying her own land. They are Alabama, Florida, Indiana, North Carolina and Texas.

Woman's March...

NO RIGHTS

Women's political rights are still denied them in the following states:

Afghanistan, Colombia, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ethiopia, Haiti, Hashemite Jordan Kingdom, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland.

LIMITED RIGHTS

Women have limited suffrage in the following states:

Bolivia, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Portugal, Spain.

To The Ballot Box

EQUAL RIGHTS

Women now enjoy equal political rights with men in 52 countries:

Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark. Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Philippine Republic, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Sweden, Syria, Thailand (Siam), Turkey, Ukraine, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Five states still have the so-called Free-Trader statutes, under which court sanction and in some cases the husband's approval is required before a woman can engage in a business of her own and keep the profits. They are California, Florida, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Texas.

In thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia, where the common-law background prevails as distinguished from civil-law tradition, the property accumulated during marriage by the cooperative efforts of both husband and wife belongs to the husband and is under his control. In most—*but not all* of these states—the wife's earnings in outside employment are her separate property. The only states which grant the wife a 50-50 share of the community property of husband and wife are Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, New Mexico, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Washington.

Economic Discrimination

Testifying before a House Judiciary sub-committee, Miss Frieda S. Miller, director of the Women's Bureau of the US Labor Department, settled the question of whether the 17 million women who constitute more than a quarter of the American labor force enjoy economic equality. "I have been asked whether there are really in our country serious discriminations against women," she said. "My answer is *yes*. . . . In the great field of job opportunities women face greater difficulties than their male competitors in achieving advantageous conditions. Women generally still earn less than men *even on the same jobs;* promotion comes harder, and the woman at 35 finds the employer preferring younger applicants, whereas men are acceptable at forty or older."

So-called "protective" legislation affecting women workers is on the statute books of many states. A good deal of it was passed originally under pressure of men who feared women's competition in the labor market. When women first entered the industries and trades they had less bargaining power and often undercut men in wages. The result was special state laws fixing maximum hours of work, minimum wages and other conditions of women's employment. Some of these provisions have proved so sound that they have since been applied to men—as the forty-eight hour week, the requirement of healthful conditions in the work place.

Among state laws regarded by women workers as particularly discriminatory are those prohibiting night work in certain occupations, according to a survey made by the New York State Labor Department. Thirteen states have such laws, few as stringent as New York's. They are California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, South Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin.

The Night Shift

Such laws probably had an international origin, in the Berne Convention of 1906, which bound the signatory nations to exclude women from night work between the hours of 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. After the establishment of the International Labor Organization in 1919, this principle was confirmed. Though the United States was not a signatory, it recommended the Conventions to the separate states. Yet today, in many countries, the trend in thinking is

Three Freedoms for Women *continued*

away from such restrictions.

New York prohibits night work for women and girls in factories, mercantile establishments, beauty parlors, street railways, as telegraph messengers, elevator operators, and in hotels under twenty-one years of age. Certain other occupations, as office charwoman, where women are exclusively employed, are unrestricted as to night work.

In factories before the war, New York prohibited work by women after 10 p.m., but during the war the hour was temporarily raised to midnight to permit women to work the second shift (usually 4 p.m. to midnight.) This has now been made permanent, after a Labor Department survey showed that 60 precent of the women preferred this shift, because it gave them time at home during the day. Many with children, who needed the jobs, stated they would be unable to work otherwise.

Efforts to repeal the New York ban on waitresses working after midnight, though urged by the State Labor Department, have been blocked by A. F. of L. restaurant workers unions, composed largely of men. They cited health and moral hazards to women as chief reasons. However, the Labor Department survey shows that those few union locals composed entirely of women waitresses take an entirely opposite view. They say the law serves to prevent their employment on the dinner shift by restaurants that do not close by midnight —and that the men thus reserve for themselves the shift that yields the highest tips.

An "Equal Rights" Amendment and a "Women's Status" Bill have long been before the United States Congress. The first aims at a clean sweep of all discriminations against women. Some charge it would remove needed protections; others fear it as extending Federal controls over the states. The second provides for a US Commission on the Status of Women, to review the great mass of legislation, regulations and ordinances, and report needed changes to remove discriminations to the state and local governments.

Mrs. Menon is inclined to favor the Amendment, as putting the US more in line with other nations that now offer women Constitutional guarantees. The US Women's Bureau, the Labor Unions and many women's groups support the "Women's Status" Bill. Neither the Amendment nor the Bill appears to be making any progress toward adoption.

Votes for Women

Everywhere, women's greatest victories thus far have been political. Agitation for votes for women originated in the United States in 1848. The militant campaigns of the suffragettes were in full swing in America and Britain in the early years of the Century. Four nations gave women political equality prior to World War I. They were New Zealand 1893, Australia 1895, Finland 1906, Norway 1913. Others followed during the war years. By the Qualification of Women Act of 1918, the United Kingdom gave women over 30 the right to vote and be elected to public office. The Equal Franchise Act of 1928 reduced the voting age to 21, as for men.

In the United States, women gained full political equality only by the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. But previously, thirty states had granted them the vote.

Today forty-six nations give women the suffrage. They now vote in occupied Japan. They voted for the first time in Syria last October. And the new nations rising to independence in the Near East and Far East —India, Israel, Korea, Indonesia— all recognize the political equality of men and women.

Capricious Laws

Some of the differences in the suffrage laws are noteworthy. Guatemala gives the vote to all male citizens whether or not they are literate —but only to women who can read and write. In Mexico both men and women can vote at 18 if married, but only at 21 if unmarried. Peru includes as voters "women of majority age, married women and those who have been married, and mothers of families, even though they may not have reached majority age." Portugal gives the vote to males, literate or illiterate, to females of majority age who have completed secondary school, art school or musical conservatory, or are the heads of families.

Political equality, as Mrs. Menon points out, is only one of the freedoms for which women strive. Part of its importance rests in the fact that it establishes their status as full-fledged citizens. Moreover, it provides them with a tool with which to modify public policy, make good their demands for fair dealing in the social and economic fields.

Ultimately, Mrs. Menon believes, women will be enabled to do their part in remolding the social environment, helping to create an international family that can live in peace. For this task she thinks women are eminently endowed. But she thinks they must insist, first on the removal of discriminations against themselves, then on their rightful share in the world's housekeeping. The United Nations stands behind them in their determination to tear off the veil of seclusion and put on the work clothes of responsibility.

In the Next Issue of United Nations World:

THE FUTURE OF AIR TRAVEL

A symposium of 20 questions answered by the world's top-ranking aviation authorities . . . Features on safety, speed and comfort in passenger travel . . . The increasing importance of air cargo . . .

A SPECIAL SURVEY

WORLD TRADE

A Dutch View of the Marshall Plan

By WILLEM DREES

Prime Minister of the Netherlands

Following ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman's article in last month's UNW, Holland's foremost statesman sets forth his views on the economic integration of Western Europe.

For Europe—and for the time being we can in this respect think only of Western Europe—trade between the various countries with as few restrictions as possible is of ever-increasing importance. This trend is crucial to all ECA countries, but the Netherlands is especially concerned.

It is a small country, thickly populated, with a high and ever-growing birth rate. Yet it has no metals, whether copper or iron ore, and its supply of other raw materials is very definitely limited. It is unable to produce sufficient grains to feed its own people or to keep up its breeding of cattle. The Netherlands has long perceived that any effort to obtain a certain degree of self-sufficiency is simply out of the question. The Dutch people can only prosper, indeed they can only survive, if they can import vast quantities of raw materials and grains. But this is only possible when the Netherlands is able to sell abroad on a large scale the output of its own industry, its own agriculture and its own livestock.

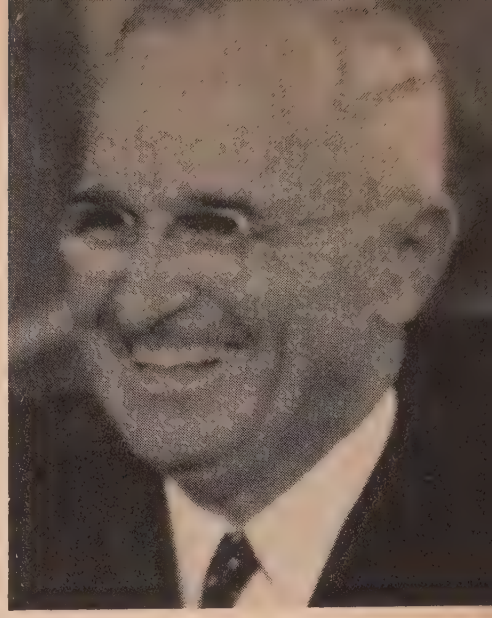
Moreover, in order to live in today's world, it has to earn money by means of navigation and by trade in general.

The Netherlands, which has a long tradition of free trade, is at present eager to cooperate in reducing the economic restrictions to that kind of trade as rapidly and as effectively as possible. Mr. Hoffman's plea for the more effective integration of Europe therefore finds an answering chord among businessmen throughout the Netherlands. Yet, it must be said in all justice that many of the restrictive measures which now prevail in Europe had to be undertaken and that without them the fate of Western Europe's peoples, in the postwar period, would have been infinitely worse than it already was.

Immediately after World War II, for example, in the Netherlands production had nearly ceased as a result of five years of looting and destruction during the Nazi occupation. Foreign exchange was extremely scarce. Hence we had to invoke whatever moderate means were left to carry out relief and repair jobs to save our people from starvation and to put roofs over their heads. If an unlimited free trade had existed at that time, the wealthy might have been able to have managed but a very grievous inflation would have been the result and the majority of the population would have suffered poverty and distress.

But what has been essential for an emergency condition cannot be continued for any length of time without having an effect contrary to the goal originally sought. At the moment, we must concentrate on free trade, develop it, expand it, make it work. To achieve that purpose, we must aim at fusing the components of Western Europe into a new economic organism. Perhaps Americans do not sufficiently realize that this objective cannot be gained as swiftly as many of us would like. They tend to forget that Europe lacks that political unity which in the United States creates also economic unity. And yet, even the United States, despite its pivotal and powerful economic position in the world, has for generations thought it necessary to protect its industry and agriculture against the free competition of other countries. Surely the American farmer is being protected against the invigorating, but sometimes rather raw, wind of free competition. Subsidy and parity programs guarantee him a good firm price for his products. By analogy, the American should be able to understand that, for instance, France and Belgium hesitate to import agriculture products from our country which we are able to sell at a lower price than their own farmers. Yet it has become increasingly clear that if Western Europe is to move toward any genuine economic unity, all vested and fixed interests cannot be preserved against the demands of a new economic day. For then the target would be missed altogether. To attain practical results of unification, we must accept the fact that some concessions will be unavoidable whether they are temporary or permanent in nature. Over the long run, the different nations of Western Europe must be prepared gradually to yield a part of their own sovereignty in particular fields and from time to time accept international decisions serving the common good.

Is Mr. Truman Going Steady With Business?



By HERBERT HARRIS

Despite surface resemblances, the economic moves and mores of Mr. Truman's Fair Deal daily differ more visibly from those of Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal.

THE scooped-out chairs, big and regal, in the board room of the Federal Reserve Building in Washington were first designed in Hoover's day for men of substance—of bulk and buttock.

During the latter part of the New Deal, and throughout the war years, these chairs were filled to overflowing mainly by labor leaders from the AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhoods.

But on January 16, 1950, they were occupied quite symbolically by bankers from the various Federal Reserve districts before whom President Truman put in an informal appearance. He wanted to assure the gathering, he said, that he was wearing neither horns nor a cloven hoof. Instead of a pitchfork, he implied, he was carrying an olive branch which he was eager to extend not only to US financial leaders but also to all members of the American business community.

His gesture was the grace note in the new oratorio entitled "Free Enterprise We Love You" which the Fair Deal Administration is composing, with some erasures and no little sweat.

The inspiration for this undertaking is very real and very earnest. It is not prompted by any expectation that the Fair Deal can entice the majority of businessmen away from the Republican Party to which they have stuck, or with which they have been stuck, during the past 17 years of hope deferred. The Administration, in this respect, is not after votes, at least not directly from this source. It is after prosperity which, to be sure, has been known to attract votes in other than managerial circles. For a stable, robust prosperity is the first aim and the indispensible pre-condition for the political success of the present Administration in both its domestic and foreign concerns. It is the life-blood of its economic policy which is to lift living standards, at home and abroad. To promote that prosperity, to expand it, to export it, to make it into a decisive weapon for winning the cold war, the Fair Deal urgently needs the active and affirmative cooperation of business in the same way that the Roosevelt Administration needed it to win the hot war largely by means of the epic supply job turned in by the executive personality, genus Americanus.

To grasp the implications behind this new concept of business-govern-

ment relations, now being crystallized in Washington, is infinitely more important for US management than data on car-loadings and stock market trends. For it will do much to shape the economic environment within which business moves and has its being.

Coordination Not Control

The New Deal contained a sprinkling of Marxian extremists who held that free enterprise and free government were incompatible and irreconcilable. They claimed that, particularly in an epoch marked by concentration of control over industry, by shocking disparities in income and opportunity, the US business system would either transform the state apparatus into a tool of class power, or force the government ultimately to direct economic affairs. This faction was small but it did color some New Deal thinking. Alongside of its view was another which permeated some New Deal doctrines and decisions. It was that since business precipitated the country's most disastrous depression, it should be punished not only for this sin but should also be made to atone for the crimes of the Robber Barons. Less punitive but more dismal was the view that the American economy had reached "maturity"; that the statics of stagnation, which had replaced the dynamics of earlier vitality were preface to senescence and decay. Proponents of a fourth view declared that social justice demanded more equitable sharing of national wealth in the form of taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots.

The Fair Deal has repudiated these four precepts of the New Deal in theory and in fact. There are no Marxist thinkers, or kibitzers, in the Truman Administration, either in the White House's own kitchen cabinet or in the official Cabinet up and down the line, or in such key agencies as the National Labor Relations Board. The evolving philosophy in Washington today is that of the necessity to establish by compromise and mediation, a long overdue partnership between free enterprise and free government. The Administration's brain-trusters, notably Leon H. Keyserling (see UNW July, 1949) Acting Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, tend to affirm that the debacle of Black October 1929 resulted from mistakes on the part of both business and government; that both joined in forging some of the most effective measures for recovery, and that in retrospect and all fairness both must "admit imperfection" because recovery was inadequate and remained incomplete until war restored full production and full employment.

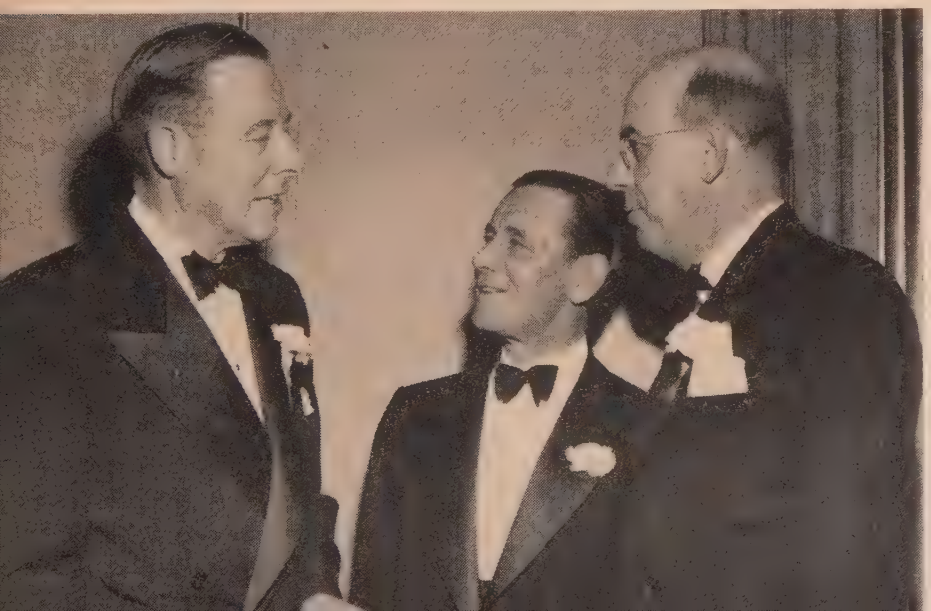
But perhaps the most dramatic contrasts between the Fair Deal and the New Deal are to be found in (1) the faith of the present Administration in the virtually boundless potential of the US business system—a faith epitomized by Mr. Truman's State of the Union prophecy of a $300 billion economy in ten years and (2) the conscious drive to supplant a pressure-group psychology into a new mutuality of interests behavior among wage-earners, entrepreneurs, farmers, professionals, and white collar groupings. The accent is to be placed less upon who gets what pieces of the national economic pie than upon increasing the size of the pie itself—a shift away from more for some toward more for all. The encouragement of new investment to create more wealth will have priority over redistribution of the available supply.

Barkis is Willin'

At the same time, the Keynesian credo of public spending to "compensate" for the lack of private spending is giving way to incentive taxation and other devices to stimulate more private outlays, primarily in the field of new capital equipment. The Fair Deal economists believe that the Keynesian method is bound to fail in overcoming large scale unemployment since the range of projects in which the government can put money is too limited to counteract a general depression. They assert that while "compensatory" expenditures can arrest a minor recession and be used to stabilize conditions, recovery from any major downswing depends chiefly on private spending for new plant and facilities.

By conviction and temperament, Mr. Truman is very much sold on this whole new approach to national economic policy. He is going to try and make it work by going steady with business. If in this courtship, he does not quite achieve a love match, the result at least can be a marriage of convenience.

BUSINESS TOP BRASS: Left to right, C. A. Putnam, President, Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., member of the board, and Wallace F. Bennett, Chairman of the board of NAM.



World Economy Slide Rule

Today, the concept of the "One World" economy is too often and too glibly set forth from rostrum and in editorial pages and around international conference tables. Perhaps on no other subject is the tendency to confuse a verbal statement for accomplished aim carried to such extremes. Yet before the essential unity of the global economy can be made real, many back-breaking and painstaking chores have to be done. Among them is the collection and sifting and correlation of hard-to-get facts and still more facts—as attested by the UN's Statistical Yearbook published last month.

It contains data gathered from 239 countries and covering 104 commodities in world trade. Although since World War I, production in food and other basic products has generally gone up, current levels—except in a few outstanding cases—are not substantially higher than those reached twenty years ago. In the table below, for example, which typifies the achievement of the UN Statistical Office, the production of wheat, rice, oats and potatoes in 1947 is shown to be considerably below the annual output in 1928. Similarly, coal production in 1948 amounted to 1250 million metric tons, a gain of only 31 million from the 1219 million metric tons mined in 1928. On the other hand, world output of cotton and wool in 1948 was slightly above the 1928 level, and production in certain relatively new industries, such as rayon and aluminum, has been shooting forward at an ever more rapid pace. In 1928, for example, world production of rayon yarn was 163,000 tons, but by 1948 the figure had risen to 706,000 tons. In the same period the production of aluminum rose from 260,000 to more than 1,100,000 tons, a phenomenal increase of 335%.

WORLD PRODUCTION OF SELECTED COMMODITIES[1]

COMMODITY	UNIT	1928	1937	1947	1948	1947 or 1948 as a % of 1928
WHEAT	1,000 met. tons	108,509	103,084	103,869	....	96
RYE	1,000 met. tons	24,688	22,570	13,000	....	53
OATS	1,000 met. tons	55,546	47,660	40,639	....	73
POTATOES	1,000 met. tons	142,628	186,194	124,506	....	87
COTTON GINNED	1,000 met. tons	5,573	7,655	4,966	5,738	103
WOOL	1,000 met. tons	1,570	1,620	1,580	1,600	102
NATURAL RUBBER	1,000 met. tons	667	1,226	1,279	1,545	232
COAL (excluding lignite & brown coal)	1,000 met. tons	1,218,900	1,196,000	1,230,000	1,250,000	103
PETROLEUM	1,000 met. tons	171,141	256,275	389,000	440,000	257
IRON ORE (iron content)	1,000 met. tons	73,200	82,000	76,000	....	104
RAYON FILAMENT YARN	met. tons	163,500	542,700	597,900	706,400	432
LUMBER	1,000 cubic mts.	....	200,000	205,000	....	...
WOOD PULP	1,000 met. tons	15,390	25,000	26,500	....	172
NEWSPRINT	1,000 met. tons	6,030	7,800	7,000	....	116
SULPHURIC ACID	1,000 met. tons	10,900	14,100	16,500	....	150
NITROGEN	1,000 met tons	....	2,565[2]	2,915[3]	3,316[3]	
CEMENT	1,000 met. tons	70,000	75,450	84,400	....	121
PIG IRON	1,000 met. tons	85,350	89,600	88,000	99,000	116
CRUDE STEEL	1,000 met. tons	105,700	118,050	121,500	136,000	129
COPPER	1,000 met. tons	1,688	2,241	2,050	....	121
ZINC	1,000 met. tons	1,394	1,554	1,475	....	106
TIN	met. tons	183,800	202,700	125,700	160,700	87
ALUMINUM	1,000 met. tons	260	450	960	1,130	435
MERCHANT VESSELS LAUNCHED	1,000 gross registered tons	2,635	2,643	2,103	2,310	88

(1) Excluding the USSR throughout and, in some cases, a few minor producers.
(2) 1 July 1938-30 June 1939.
(3) 12 months beginning 1 July of the year stated.

Shockworkers mount drilling rig at Muntenia-Baicoi, a rich Rumanian oilfield.

The Molotov Plan Rolls Over Eastern Europe

By LAURIE SHARP

Under Soviet domination, the trade of Eastern Europe has become strictly a regional rather than an international affair. Production is geared to the needs of the USSR and the historic interchange of the East's raw materials for the West's manufactured goods has been but another casualty of the cold war.

THE year 1949 marked a crucial turning point in the commercial history of all Eastern European nations within the Communist orbit. They became not only political, but also economic, appendages of the Soviet Union. Their isolation within a closed trading system is now virtually complete. This may seem at first glance a somewhat exaggerated view since both Poland and Czechoslovakia, in addition to trading within the Soviet sphere, actually exchange goods and services with dozens of other states all over the world. New trade pacts are even now being negotiated.

Yet the decisive influence in the pattern of trade as it emerged in 1949 is a priority system which controls economic relations with the Soviet Union and other countries within the Soviet bloc and the repercussions of this whole policy on trade between Eastern and Western Europe. In January 1949, when Moscow set up the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance comprising all countries of the Soviet zone (excepting Yugoslavia), it was decided to expand the trade of Eastern European countries with one another and with the USSR at the expense of trade with the West. The Council, a somewhat belated response to the Marshall Plan organization, proclaimed as its purpose "to promote closer mutually beneficial ties" among all the countries within the Soviet sphere of influence.

The special stress placed by the Soviet Union on all-out economic cooperation within Eastern Europe was inspired in part by the reluctance of the other members of the Soviet bloc to a realization of opportunities for advantageous business with the West.

As late as the spring of 1948, Poland and Czechoslovakia—the two principal trading nations behind the Iron Curtain—still transacted more than half of their total commerce with the West. Only 34 per cent of all Polish exports remained within the Soviet orbit and only 41 per cent of its imports came from that area. Similarly, Czechoslovakia exported only 38 per cent and imported only 37 per cent from the East. To be sure, even this volume of trade marks a vast increase over the pre-war years

The Molotov Plan Rolls *continued*

when all Eastern Europe traded almost exclusively with the West rather than with each other. In the case of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, for example, trade with the Soviet Union was almost exactly zero. It was 1 per cent for Poland and 3 per cent for Czechoslovakia. But the 1948 level of trade within the Soviet arc' was thought inadequate by the Kremlin.

Hence, throughout 1949, Poland reoriented her total trade to such an extent that 65 per cent of it was conducted with other nations in Eastern Europe, most of it with the USSR, but a substantial portion of it with Poland's fellow members in the Council for Economic Mutual Aid. Polish trade with Hungary went up three times, with Bulgaria it increased 60 per cent, and with Rumania 20 per cent. These advances brought the Polish trade with these countries from 15 million dollars in 1948 to 30 million dollars each way in 1949. To make this shift more alluring for Poland, the Soviet Union typically had granted Poland a 450 million dollar loan to finance the purchase of a steel plant and other industrial equipment. In switching her trade toward the rest of the Eastern bloc in 1949, Poland exchanged her coal and coke, machinery and textiles, and tobacco from Bulgaria, fats, meats and metals from Rumania, and cotton, manganese and iron ore from the USSR. But Polish trade with Czechoslovakia differed drastically as Polish exports have consisted mainly of electric current and chemicals in exchange for Czechoslovakian engineering equipment and shoes.

Stepping Up Exports

In accord with Kremlin policy, Poland also turned her attention to the Soviet zone of Germany and in 1949 doubled her trade with that area, sending metal sheets, fish and canned goods and coal for German potassium salts, mining and printing machinery, precision and optical instruments. Taking a leaf from Poland's book, Czechoslovakia stepped up her trade with the East by 25 per cent within a year. As the most industrialized nation in Eastern Europe and the only one which normally requires food imports, both the USSR and other Eastern European states count on her to supply them with such manufactured products as footwear, machine tools, industrial equipment and a vast array of consumer goods in exchange for raw materials and food, particularly grain.

The drastic moves taken in 1949 under Kremlin compulsion to channel Eastern Europe's trade toward the East tended to disrupt their own economic goals. Without exception, the countries in the Soviet orbit had set themselves two objectives in the field of foreign trade. They were going to avoid at all costs their old-time dependence on Germany, a dependency which in the past had fostered both economic and political exploitation. They wanted to bring about a change in the composition of their exports, to achieve a mixed trading pattern in which as a result of industrializing themselves, they would be able to export some finished products in addition to traditional foodstuffs. For the long-range success of these plans, the Soviet Union in theory could be considered superior to Western Europe as a trading partner. In the first place, the USSR does not have to rely on foodstuffs. In the second place, she has a vast capacity to absorb every sort of finished goods. But this theory has many holes. It is dubious

Eastern Europe's Trade (Million $, current prices)

		WITH USSR			WITH EASTERN EUROPE EXCLUSIVE OF USSR			**Total trade***		
		1938	1948	1949	1938	1948	1949	1938	1948	1949
Czechoslovakia	Imports	4	117	200	41	143	116	262	695	800
	Exports	12	120	200	60	166	120	358	746	800
Poland	Imports	3	114	200	15	97	80	231	498	600
	Exports	2	97	200	16	79	80	223	513	580
Hungary	Imports	—	24	75	25	55	60	116	154	160
	Exports	—	23	75	19	40	60	148	140	160
Rumania	Imports	—	30	75	27	33	45	125	86	120
	Exports	—	15	50	28	38	50	160	80	105
Bulgaria	Imports	—	70	85	8	29	35	46	111	125
	Exports	—	40	60	7	31	35	62	91	100

*incl. Western Europe and all other countries.

whether the Soviet Union can for a long time furnish the capital goods and machinery which would enable these other countries to accomplish their own industrialization goals which are basic to the whole scheme. It is equally dubious as to whether the Soviet Union can be relied upon to behave as a bona fide business partner, instead of taking still further advantage of her political position in Eastern Europe to exploit the whole orbit under the guise of trade along the lines of Hitler's Germany during the 1930s. To answer these questions realistically, we must differentiate between Poland and Czechoslovakia and the three ex-satellites of Germany, namely, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania.

While Poland and Czechoslovakia were close to their pre-war trade volume by 1948, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria had only reached the half-way mark. Their trade was seriously hampered by their need to pay heavy reparations to the USSR and by the Soviet Union practice of setting up companies jointly owned and operated by each of these countries and the USSR. These bi-national public corporations control much of Eastern Europe's export industries such as Rumanian oil, for example, and their shipments to the Soviet Union do not fall into the category of official exports. At least until 1949, the picture of exchanges between the Soviet Union and Germany's ex-satellites was completely distorted by the extraordinary levies by the Soviet Union.

Even with Czechoslovakia and Poland. there was discrimination in favor of the Soviet Union.

But the chief postwar problem for Poland and Czechoslovakia is the supply of capital goods and machinery, essential to the reorientation of their trade. According to reports from Spain and Yugoslavia, the USSR has not so far furnished the orbit countries with goods other than food and raw materials. Heavy equipment, including a steel mill for Poland, capital goods for Czechoslovakia, tractors, and agricultural machinery for Rumania, are earmarked for delivery at some future date. There is uncontrovertible evidence in

Lumberjacks send logs rolling down a swift mountain river in wild, romantic Subcarpathian Ruthenia whose vast forests supply much of the lumber needed in Eastern Europe.

Picking sugar beets in Czechoslovakia is an important business since sugar production is one of the most substantial agricultural industries in the Soviet-dominated Republic.

Endless chains of freight cars loaded with precious coal are a common sight in Poland. Her inexhaustible coal mines are the mainstay of Poland's economy and foreign trade.

the past, that Soviet exports of machinery and rolling stock consisted of items of German, Hungarian, or Rumanian origin.

The frantic search for such goods on the part of Poland and Czechoslovakia explains the schizophrenic trade behavior of these two countries. While paying lip-service to the cause of expanding trade within the Soviet orbit, they spared no effort to do business with the West which alone could provide these goods.

As could be expected from developments in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, their trade with western Europe was very low, but Poland, whose coal was a much coveted commodity, maintained a high level of exports to Western Europe.

Out of a total of 513 million dollars worth of exports in 1948, over 57 percent (294 million dollars worth) went to Western Europe. Czechoslovakia's percentage was less impressive (40.3 percent of total exports) but the figures involved are considerable: out of a total of 746 million dollars worth of exports in 1948, 301 million went to Western Europe.

Crucial Agreements

Throughout 1948 exports of machinery and equipment from Western to Eastern Europe, grew steadily. For 1949 a continued increase was anticipated. This prospect led Poland and Czechoslovakia to make still further efforts for satisfactory trade relations with the West, despite the limitations imposed by the decisions of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. Many East-West trade agreements were concluded in 1949, the most important being the pact between Britain and Poland which provided for the exchange of goods up to 500 million dollars over a five-year period. Poland was to export bacon, eggs, timber and furniture, in exchange for wool, rubber, crude oil, and capital equipment from Great Britain. Czechoslovakia also concluded an agreement with Great Britain for total exchanges worth 100 million dollars over a five-year period. In addition to commercial exchanges, this agreement provided for debt and claims settlements sought since the end of the war by Great Britain. Poland and Czechoslovakia concluded additional agreements throughout western Europe. Under a Polish-Italian trade agreement, for 60 million dollars annually, Poland was to ship coal and agricultural products for Italian engineering and electrical engineering products. Czech - French trade was to be higher in 1949 than in 1948. Eastern Europe's trade with the Scandinavian countries, which in 1948 showed a considerable increase over prewar years, was to be expanded still further in 1949.

Despite these efforts, however, it became daily more evident during the course of the year that East-West trade was doomed by the intensified "cold war." The growing secrecy which surrounded trade statistics in Eastern Europe did not help to harmonize international trade relations. The pitiless trade war conducted by the Soviet orbit against Yugoslavia showed how fully Eastern Europe's trade could be subordinated to political considerations. But the blow which had perhaps the most paralyzing effect originated in the United States. It was the American export licensing policy, extended to Western Europe by Congress in the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1949. The export of "war potential" goods was to be actively discouraged.

The definition of war potential is so vague that it can include not only machinery, but also nails, bolts, and needles. Great Britain published in March 1949 a short list of prohibited exports which did not go to the extreme of including goods which only indirectly add to the war-waging capacity of the Soviet orbit. Other countries of Western Europe have not officially taken a stand. However, Eastern European sources claim that all industrialists in Western Europe have been supplied with a list, drawn up by the Economic Cooperation Administration, enumerating items not to be sold to Eastern Europe. These lists are said to include practically every piece of equipment which Eastern Europe may want to purchase in the West. The countries of the Soviet orbit probably magnified the role of the export licensing system as impediment to East-West trade, yet it remains certain that the prohibition of exports vital to the success of their five-year plans has thrown a monkey wrench into economic blue-printing in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The question of responsibility for failure of East-West trade revival came up for a thorough airing in the summer of 1949 in Geneva, at the meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. There were many recriminations. But it was clear that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States were prepared to revise their respective positions. The Soviet Union would not make any concessions nor give out any information which might encourage exchanges between East and West, even if this attitude entailed economic sacrifices for her satellites in the immediate future. The United States was convinced that the extent of Soviet domination throughout Eastern Europe made futile all attempts to resume normal trade with that area.

Trade Rift Unhealed

As a result of Soviet pressure for close economic cooperation within the orbit, together with the growing political East-West rift as reflected in the American moves, the prospects for East-West trade are very dim. Although some goods will still pass within the limitations imposed by the Soviet Union and by the United States, the trade of Eastern Europe which was at one time counted upon by the West as an important ingredient in the recovery plans of Western Europe is bound to become a regional, rather than international, affair. For the West this will be a painful, not fatal, development. It will perpetually frustrate the ambitions of the USSR's economic auxiliaries to industrialize rapidly and thus achieve self sufficiency and better balance within their economies.

A UNW Survey

World Literature At Mid-Century

By ANNE FREMANTLE
Assistant Professor, Fordham University

Five years after the liberation, the challenge of the Colossus from beyond the Rhine continues to dominate French writing.

II. The French Novel

LIKE a trauma, a psychological and intellectual shock impossible to forget, the challenge of the Nazi spirit and of the German occupation has dominated French writing for the past decade.

Paul Valéry's son said that to the average Frenchman the physical sight of Germans was an experience: to see Germans, to be forced to smell them, in subway and bus, to have to realize them as human beings, not as the abstract "enemy," was, for his generation, a new and terrible thing.

But contact with the overpowering neighbor went even deeper. The intellectuals of Paris realized that they were up against a whole philosophy of life which, if true, annihilated the very bases of their own concepts of what life should be.

Significantly, not only Nazi philosophy, but also Existentialism came to France via Germany and duly weighted by excess metaphysical lead of German origin. And it is probably true to say that the most distinctive characteristic of the individual French writer today is his emotional and philosophical answer to these various intellectual temptations which were supposed to enslave him not only politically but morally.

Perhaps the most outstanding of the younger French writers is Albert Camus. Slight, handsome, delicate, distinguished, he is an Algerian and has written courageously of his native Algeria and its problems, political and sociological, in *Combat*, the gallant newspaper that began in the Resistance. But he is, first and foremost, a novelist-philosopher of the type France knows so well how to produce. His *The Stranger* and *The Plague* (both published in the US) showed him to be of the stature of Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka. In his *Lettres à un ami allemand*—"Letters to a German Friend"—published in 1945 but clandestinely circulated during the Occupation, Camus sets out the situation between France and Germany. For him, the antithesis—the dichotomy between France and Germany is based on their wholly different relationship to humanity, to existence and to the earth itself.

The Germans, with their idea of superman, their ideal of a master-race, their grim determination to forge a super-Europe despite the age-old anarchistic will of Europe itself, are fighting in peace, as in war, the most basic, the earthiest qualities of man—the mud we are made of.

To the German heroes—demigods such as Siegfried or Faust—France opposes *l'homme moyen sensuel*, the "average man," that Anteus-like creature who can conquer even Hercules, so long as he touches continually the earth, his mother.

For Albert Camus, as for André Malraux, far removed as they are from each other in style, form or philosophy, it is the denial of earth that is the greatest of Germany's sins, as it is the silliest of her errors.

"Your despair was your greatest weapon," Camus announced to the Germans while Paris was still in bondage. "For us, we think the achievement of happiness is the greatest of victories." And he goes on: "Our terrible task was to follow you into the war, without forgetting happiness. We had to enter into your philosophy, we had to agree to resemble you a little. Now that it is all going to be over, we can say that what we have learned from you is. that heroism is a little thing, and that happiness is harder to achieve."

France's first duty, Camus declared, was to be faithful to the earth and to happiness.

André Malraux, whose greatest novel, *La Condition Humaine*, was a tremendously coherent philosophy of action, tries hard to reach final metaphysical answers in his *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*—"The Walnut Trees of

Altenburg"—by choosing as his hero a fictional father who, after 1870, an Alsatian hitherto and French, accepted the German conquest, and became a German diplomat. This man goes as a German agent to Turkey, and helps foment the Young Turk revolution; he is shown with Enver Pasha in North Africa in 1908, and, in the third part of the book, he observes, and finally perishes in, the first, experimental gas-attack, made by the Germans on the Russian front. This book too, is philosophy-in-action, but the action is sandwiched and slowed

ALBERT CAMUS

by long Socratic dialogues, which conclude in a kind of manifesto: "to the question, what is man? we are fumblingly ready to reply, 'that which he hides.'" . . . His divine part is his capacity for putting the world in question. And elsewhere, one of the characters states "there is no need for psychology except in the west: the masterstroke of Christianity was to put man's fate within him." *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* is very near Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain:* written twenty years apart with a war between them, both books are a moving statement of the problem: did God create us, or we Him? Malraux concludes that simply because of his capacity to ask that question, man also conjures man from clay. "Sometimes the myriad stars seems to me as dwarfed by man as our poor destinies are dwarfed by the starry sky." And in his more recent book on the philosophy of art, Malraux illustrates, literally, with reproductions, and descriptively his moral theories no less than his aesthetic. Both Camus and Malraux hold man up as sole protection against the cold winds of despair: the gods and the heroes have been shot through; only "mother-naked man" in the atomic dawn, is holding the pass.

In Sartre's novels and plays, man is not holding the pass any more—indeed, he is hardly even holding the baby. For Sartre is the Frenchman most saturated by the "despair" of the Danish and German existentialist philosophers. Paul Foulquié has described him as "the *Bibliothèque Rose* in reverse" (the *Bibliothèque Rose* is the French equivalent of the St. Nicholas Magazine). Sartre is, indeed, the most disagreeable to read as he is the most disagreeable to see, of all living French writers. He is at the furthest possible removed from Camus' insistence on the duty of happiness: he is, indeed, very un-French in his delight in the disgusting. Abortions, prostitutions, treasons of body and mind, that is what little boys and girls are made of, and human behavior is a continual bump. bump backwards down a dirty staircase. Yet the dunghill from which he crows blossoms with miracles of prose: the monologues in *Les Nuits de la Colère*, the speeches in *No Exit* and *Red Gloves*. Neither in non-existing essence, nor in his ephemerally achieved existence, can man be happy, sighs Sartre. But he can certainly be, and is, nasty.

Existence and Hollywood

Simone de Beauvoir, closely associated with him, is less definite. She writes with a weary weather eye cocked on to the American reader: for example, in her *Le Sang des Autres*—"The Blood of Others"—which is a self-conscious Resistance novel, everyone behaves as they would in an American movie: in spite of appearances of deceit and decoy, the hero is a hero, the heroine is a Good Girl. And the theme is that "each is responsible for everything to everyone": Helene, pretty, plaintive, spoiled, cannot enjoy her Jean in a safe corner. Both are totally engaged in life, in the war, in the Occupation, in the Resistance, and they come to their heroic roles with a splendid air of inevitability.

Here the issues were clear, but in Vercors' *Les Silences de la Mer*, and indeed, in many of the later Resistance books, there is latent the hor-

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

rid possibility that the enemy is also myself: few of these later war books have the moral simplicity of the thriller, in which we is equal to good and they is equal to evil.

In Antoine de St. Exupéry's posthumous, amorphous, enormous unfinished *Citadelle*, the Trojan horse is everywhere—not just inside the city walls, or the hero's heart, but dragged at the end of a string by every child, pulling municipal water-carts and tumbrils alike. *Citadelle* is, indeed, a study of what the Nazis wished the Frenchmen to become. Though St. Exupéry was never a nazifying writer, as Montherlant is, and Jean Giono, he suffered terribly the dislocations and distentions inflicted upon the French spirit by the Occupation: he may perhaps be called a *nazified* writer.

Montherlant, in his extreme arrogance, in his contempt for others, which he parades in all his novels (especially in *Les Jeunes Filles, Aux Fontaines du Désir, Olympique)* is male by divine right, and by divine right "woman is consecrated to the *bidet* and the glass of beer"—as Simone de Beauvoir writes of him in *Horizon*. She also points out how, at the beginning of the Occupation, he gave way to an orgy of contempt for his defeated countrymen. Montherlant's statement that "people are not even worth leading, and there is no need for humanity to have injured you to make you hate it" is unique in its contempt of humankind, of the "other person." Sartre despairs, but he never despises: he is disgusted. but by the nature of things, not man's misery. But there is in Montherlant, as there is in Jean Genet *(Notre Dame des Fleurs)* a very German delight in the disgusting. The Germans themselves have a name for it; *nase-*

weiss — "white-nosed" — they call someone who enjoys fouling the fair. For the French, love, sex, food, sleep, landscape, art, literature, conversation, even war, have generally been considered enjoyable, both by the average writer and by the great genius. From Pantagruel to Proust, the scales of human emotion and experience were generally played so as to produce harmony and pleasure. But Montherlant's descriptions of crude and cruel details recalls a Jonathan Swift at his rawest.

This delight in destruction and ugliness is a very far cry from Louis Aragon's poems for Elsa Triolet, or from his romantically Communist novels. Elsa Triolet's epic-length *Le Premier Accroc Coûte Deux Cents Francs* won the Prix Goncourt and her earliest Resistance stories *(Les Amants d'Avignon)* are only German-influenced in their hatred of Nazism.

But it is not only with Existentialism or with Nazism that today's French writers are concerned. Goethe, after two hundred years, has reached France, and is influencing the French as never before. Paul Valéry's last work, his *Faust*, appeared in 1946; André Gide's war years were largely spent studying not only Goethe but also Grillparzer, and perhaps Gide's essay on Goethe is the most definitive yet written.

The Catholic novelists, old or new, seem still concerned with the internal tensions of France, with the old schoolmaster — village-priest rivalry, and the newer Communist-Christian antagonisms. For them, after all, Kierkegaard is just another heretic.

There are, of course, other non-ideological, non-philosophical, novelists, who ignore Germany and Existentialism both. Marcel Aymé *(Le Chemin des Ecoliers, Le Vin de Paris)* and Henri Bosco *(L'Ane Culottes* and its many charming successors) have escaped the contagion.

The latest, youngest writers, raised on turnip-tops and Swedes, will no doubt write of the occupation as of a child's nightmare of hunger and cold, of harsh orders, from clanking bogeymen, rather than treating it as a pentecostal evil.

Books Received

The Last Optimist by J. Alvarez Del Vayo, Viking, New York, 512 pp., $4.00.
Son of a general, brother of the abbess of Spain's most aristocratic convent, one of Spain's most respected statesmen tells how he became a rebel against both church and king. He recounts his experiences with the most famous members of literary and artistic circles and gives a brilliant account of international conferences between the two wars. His personal history of the Spanish Civil War, its background and personalities offers dramatic reading as well as important documentary information. As a climax, del Vayo tells of his secret return to Spain in 1949 in defiance of a death sentence from Franco.

Battle Report—Victory in the Pacific by Capt. Walter Karig, USNR, and Lt. Com. Frank A. Manson, USN, Rinehart, New York, 548 pp., $5.00.
Vol. 5 of a series prepared from official documents by eye-witnesses to the great battles and campaigns of the second world war.

James Joyce by W. Y. Tindall, Twentieth Century Library, New York, 126 pp., $2.00.

Albert Einstein by Leopold Infeld, Twentieth Century Library, New York, 126 pp., $2.00.

Charles Darwin by Paul B. Sears, Twentieth Century Library, New York, 120 pp., $2.00.
First three in a series of biographies published by Scribner's with a view toward giving the layman a basic understanding of the great thinkers of the last one hundred years.

Berlin Command by Gen. Frank Howley, USA, Putnam, New York, 276 pp., $3.50.
A personal account of his experiences as American commander in Berlin during four years of the crucial occupation period.

Tiger in the Garden by Speed Lamkin, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 278 pp., $3.00.
A novel reflecting the changing economy of the American South together with the social and psychological adjustments which must be made by the old, so-called aristocratic families.

Touring Italy by Andre de Salza, Greenberg, New York, 197 pp., $1.75.
Italy's major cities and their attractions described in guide fashion together with explanatory maps.

An Essay for Our Times by H. Stuart Hughes, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 196 pp., $2.75.
Clearly defined explanations of the philosophical concepts behind the struggle between East and West, tracing the evolution of ideas from Spangler to Toynbee, through Freud, Jung, Henry Adams and Thomas Mann.

New Dictionary of American Politics by Smith and Zurcher, Barnes and Noble, New York, 437 pp., $3.25.
Latest revision of a reference book covering all phases of US politics from national, state and municipal government to slogans, political slang and nicknames.

Whirlwind by Stephen Cissold, Philosophical Library, New York, 242 pp. and index, $3.75.
A British diplomat describes the rise of Tito, giving his personal observations of the man and the country.

The Lapps by Bjorn Collinder, Princeton University Press for The American Scandinavian Foundation, 252 pp., $3.75.
The first general book in English on the inhabitants of the northernmost end of the Scandinavian peninsula with facts and color about their lives, customs, religion and their fight against nature.

The Western World and Japan by G. B. Sansom, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 504 pp. and index, $6.00.
A detailed analysis of the interaction of Western and Japanese cultures and economies upon each other by the director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.

The Coming Defeat of Communism by James Burnham, John Day, New York, 278 pp., $3.50.
The author of *The Struggle for the World* presents a step-by-step program for defeating Communism without a large-scale war.

Austria by E. H. Buschbeck, Oxford University Press, New York, 251 pp., $2.50.
A short account of the geographical, economic, political and cultural factors which have shaped one of the pivotal areas of Europe, with a summary bringing the reader up to date.

Every Inch a King by Sergio Correa da Costa, Macmillan, New York, 230 pp., $3.00.
Biography of Dom Pedro, first emperor of Brazil, describing his flight from a Portugal over-run by Napoleon and his successful struggle in breaking Brazil away from his mother country and setting it up as an independent country. The translation from the Portuguese is by Samuel Putnam.

An Editorial by Louis Dolivet

The Soviet Strategy of Withdrawal

THE pessimism which has swept Lake Success like a tidal wave since the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the Security Council and other commissions and committees of the United Nations will, we confidently predict, subside.

The fears for the future of the UN which have existed since Ambassador Jacob Malik's dramatic walk-out have created more anxiety outside than within the United Nations itself.

The UN has known five previous cases of abstention from, or boycott of, its activities by the Soviet Union: the Iranian debate, the Little Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, the Balkan and Korean Commissions.

In two of these five cases, UN patience won out—in one case by the Soviet withdrawal from Iran and Mr. Gromyko's amiable return to the Security Council; in the second case by the delayed but very active participation of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council.

The present temporary withdrawal of the USSR from UN bodies fortunately does not involve such explosive situations as existed in Iran where the peace of the world was threatened, or in the Balkans where actual fighting—which could easily have degenerated into a world conflict—was taking place.

In the controversy over Chinese recognition there is no threat whatsoever of armed conflict, for no armies are ready to dislodge the Communists or bring back the Nationalists. The whole fight is merely a transfer of the cold war to the UN halls, with Russia holding the initiative.

The Soviet Union, which has lately suffered two major setbacks in the UN, needed an opportunity to get even with the US, which had led and won two fights against her. The first defeat came when Mr. Vishinsky's proposal for a 5-power pact was overwhelmingly rejected and the US-UK counter-proposal adopted by a vote of 53 nations, the second when heretic Yugoslavia was elected over still-faithful Czechoslovakia to the Security Council.

The Chinese imbroglio seemed made to order. In the Security Council, 5 of the 11 members had recognized the new Communist regime of China, and thus found themselves in an embarrassing dilemma at the moment when the Soviet Government asked for the expulsion of the Nationalist delegate.

To complicate matters further, a paradox of history willed that the debate take place at the precise moment when it was the Chinese delegate's turn to preside.

The rules of procedure of the Security Council fail to provide for such a situation. The Russian representative pressed his advantage by refusing to accept rulings from the Chairman, "a person who represents nobody."

Mr. Malik, who long had endured a 9-2 majority against the Soviet Union in the Security Council, saw a unique opportunity to reduce it. He wanted to split the US-UK partnership. Even more important, with his eye on Asia, was his hope of forcing India to side with the USSR against the US on this matter.

When the Soviet resolution was defeated, as Kremlin strategists had foreseen, there started a series of withdrawals from UN councils and committees not only by the Soviet Union, but by other members of the Eastern bloc.

The Soviets know that ultimately they will win in this case, because the political reality in China is that the Communists are in power, and that they will eventually be recognized by all members of the UN. The withdrawal was a political gesture intended to convince the Chinese Communists, at a time when difficult negotiations were taking place on the highest level in Moscow between Stalin and Mao Tze-tung, that the USSR is their true and only friend.

Furthermore, to those members of the UN who have already recognized Communist China, and to those who are preparing to do so in the near future, this latest Russian action is, by necessity, infinitely more embarrassing than the usual East-West ideological conflict, where the lines are more clearly defined. The Russians hoped to be in a stronger bargaining position with these countries, and to win concessions from them in order to end an anomalous situation in the UN and hasten the Soviet return.

Whatever the strategic advantages gained by the Soviet Union may be, it must be stated that the practice of withdrawal from a UN body is irreconcilable with the letter and spirit of the Charter. It is wrong for the Soviet Union to withdraw when she is displeased with a given decision, as it was wrong for the Arab countries to withdraw after the decision to partition Palestine—and as it would be wrong for any other country under similar circumstances.

In the orderly procedures of the UN, infinitely more is at stake than a tactical victory for any country. What is at stake is the whole concept created by East and West alike of the supremacy of the United Nations organization in the relations among peoples.

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